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BULLETIN of *The BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY*

INCORPORATED

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Volume II

JANUARY, 1928

Number 1
Whole Number 11

A Quarterly Journal of Economic and Business History

THE members and friends of The Business Historical Society will be happy to learn of the constructive program that has been adopted for the coming year. The Society, in conjunction with the Harvard Business School, has undertaken to publish the first periodical devoted to the history both of economics and of business, for the benefit of the members. This journal will be a pioneer in its field. Any number of publications deal with economic research, but these are exclusively modern in their interest. Several others, one in Germany, one in France, and a third in England, the latter appearing only once a year, are concerned with economic history, but do not include the history of business as a distinct subject. This proposed journal will be the first to deal with the historical background of business; to apply the experience of the past to the solution of current problems of the industrial world. It will be an organ for scholarly thought in the fields of economic and business history, including foreign as well as American interests.

It will be a quarterly publication, edited by Professor Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard University; and Professor N. S. B. Gras, of the Harvard Business School, will be the Managing Editor. There will be an advisory editorial board made up of both American and European scholars. It will aggregate nearly six hundred pages a year, and these pages will include articles by the principal writers on economic and business subjects both in America and abroad.

Such a periodical should contribute materially toward the disseminating of business knowledge in its broadest sense, the clarifying of business thought, and the building up of a literary background of permanent value. The appearance of this quarterly, some time in the fall of 1928, may indeed be said to mark an epoch in the progress of business as a profession.

Daniel Defoe, Journalist

MARGARETT A. JAMES AND DOROTHY F. TUCKER

DANIEL DEFOE, in his "Tour Thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain," says of the town of Malden in 1761,

"Here is a good public Library for the Use of the Minister and the Clergy of the Hundreds adjoining to the sea; and any Gentleman may borrow a Book, upon depositing the Value of it."

It would give him a great deal of satisfaction and some surprise if he could see the Baker Library, where thousands of books of commercial interest may be consulted freely by every citizen of Boston. One might suspect that it would give him even greater satisfaction and surprise him less to see his own commercial pamphlets in a place of honor in the Librarian's Room. Perhaps the most versatile of English writers, he apparently had economic matters nearest his heart; for as he traveled through England, though he noted everything of interest in a given place, he dwelt lovingly and lingeringly on its commerce or fishing, manufactures or farming, the rent of its land, and the reasons for its poverty or prosperity.

In "A Plan of the English Commerce," he devotes 400 pages to a review of the trade of Great Britain, past, present, and future. He begins with an explanation "Of Trade in General," where he says,

"Trade, like Religion, is what every Body talks of, but few understand: The very Term is dubious, and in its ordinary Acceptation, not sufficiently explain'd.

"When 'tis particular to a Place, 'tis *Trade*; when general, 'tis *Commerce*; when we speak of it as the Effect of Nature, 'tis *Product* or *Produce*; when as the Effect of Labour, 'tis *Manufacture*; In its Management 'tis the same, for when we speak

of it in the gross, 'tis *wholesale*; when of the particulars, 'tis *retale*; when we speak of Nations, 'tis call'd *Corresponding*; when of foreign Import only, 'tis called *Merchandising*; 'Tis the same also of the Manner, when we exchange Goods 'tis call'd *Barter*; when we exchange Coin 'tis call'd *Banking*, *Negoce* and *Negociating*; Hence, our Money-Goldsmiths were formerly called *Bankers*, and our great national Treasury of Commerce is at this day called a *Bank*."

From economic generalities he passes to "The Trade of England in Particular," "The First Rise, Growth and Encrease of the Commerce of England" and "The Encrease of the English Commerce from the Time of Queen Elizabeth's Breaking with the Spaniards." Later, he makes "A Solid Enquiry into that Important Question, Whether our Trade in General, and our Woolen Manufacture in Particular, are Sunk and Declined, or Not?" And thence he goes to "A Proposal for the Improvement and Encrease of Commerce upon the Western Coast of Africa, the Coast of Guinea, from Sierra Leon, Vulgarly Call'd Seraloon, to the Coast of the Gulph of Benin."

Defoe was one of the first journalists, being himself the editor and entire staff of a publication called the "Review," which paralleled the modern newspaper in a number of important features. This paper was started while he lay in Newgate. His journalistic career in a broader sense, however, had begun with his first pamphlet on the affairs of the nation. The pamphleteer was the prototype of the journalist; before the time of newspapers, public opinion was influenced by the distribution of penny pamphlets, dealing with the religious, political and economic problems of the day. These pamphlets, then, partake of the particular and immediate value of the periodical, mirroring microscopically where history views telescopically.

His approach to journalism bore more resemblance to that of the modern newspaper man than to that of most of his contemporaries. He anticipated another feature of modern business in using methods of giving publicity to his works that would have done credit to a twentieth-century press agent of the first water. He procured, to add interest and verisimilitude to his account of the adventures of the notorious Jack Sheppard, a letter from Jack, with "kind love" to Defoe, which he published in Applebee's "Journal." Furthermore, he induced Sheppard, when he reached the gallows on which he was to be executed, to send for a friend

and deliver to him, as a dying confession, the first copy of Defoe's pamphlet.

After his arbitrary imprisonment for writing a "seditious libel" on the High Church Party, Defoe exchanged his early enthusiastic sincerity for an equally enthusiastic support of the ministry, whether Tory or Whig. His release from prison was obtained through Robert Harley, afterwards Lord Oxford, and the tacit understanding was that Defoe should write in favor of his benefactor. Defoe's leanings had always been toward the Whigs, so he could advance the interests of Harley, and later of Godolphin, with a reasonably clear conscience. But when, at the fall of the Whig ministry, he made a cleverly disguised right-about-face and began to see reason in the Tory contentions, and good, in the Tory leaders, he appears in no better light than as an unscrupulous mercenary soldier of the pen, though an uncommonly adroit and convincing one. What his original motives were in selling his talent is a matter for conjecture. Disillusion, his fundamental pragmatism, expounded so clearly and entertainingly in the "Complete English Tradesman," a consuming desire to get back into the field of action,—any or all of these may have impelled him. As to his continuing to shift with the political wind, it may best be explained in the words of his own advice for a deceitful talker.

"The best step," says he, "for such a man is to lie on until his character be known, . . . and he can lie no more." He had woven the proverbial tangled web, and was caught in its strands. In addition to this, he had acquired a taste for the dangerous and exhilarating game of matching his wits against a suspicious but fascinated public and an enraged press.

It is to his Tory period that three pamphlets dealing with the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, belong. They recall the furor at the end of the war with France when an attempt was made in connection with the Treaty to lower the duty on French goods. Defoe, who at heart favored the policy of protecting home manufactures with high duties and prohibitions, entered the fray with numerous pamphlets in favor of the commercial clauses of the treaty. A copy of the bill, an account of the discussion in Parliament, with the vote for and against the measure, embodied in the "Letter of a Member of the House of Commons to his Friend in the Country relating to the Bill of Commerce"—these facts could not easily be obtained in 1713, when Parliamentary proceedings were not reported and Defoe's tri-weekly "Review" had ceased publication.

In the second of this group of pamphlets, "The Trade with France, Italy, Spain and Portugal considered," he argued in favor of the commercial treaty on the ground that greater advantage was to be derived from trade with France than from that with the other countries in which low tariffs prevailed. It is interesting to note that a copy of this little twenty-three-page pamphlet was issued for three pence, and that in 1918, two hundred and five years later, a copy was sold in New York for \$32.

"The Tryall of Count Tariff" is the rarest of the group. "Count Tariff" (the high French tariff) is convicted and sentenced to punishment on the testimony of "Goodman Fact." It is sometimes attributed to Addison, and is listed among his works in the National Dictionary of Biography. The internal evidence does not point strongly to either. Whether "Count Tariff" is the former high French tariff, or the reduced tariff proposed in the Treaty, is not absolutely clear. It is probable that the pamphlet was written in support of lowering the tariff, but a reference to one "Mercator" as a witness for the "Count" would seem to indicate the reverse, for "Mercator," Defoe's paper at that time, was giving its zealous and untiring support to the Treaty and the Tory cause. The style lacks the polished elegance of Addison, and the forceful ingenuity of Defoe.

Another Defoe pamphlet deals with the ever-present question of the influence of fashion on industry. To-day cotton manufacturers bemoan the fact that women clothe themselves in silk and rayon and refuse to buy gingham and cotton. In 1713 the tables were turned. Silks and woollens were neglected for the then novel printed cottons from India. "People wearing chintz were burned alive in the streets of Paris by the wrathful makers of silk and velvet" says Esther Singleton in her "The Collecting of Antiques." In England, efforts were made to protect the woollen manufacturers by the passage of a law penalizing with a heavy fine the importation of "Indian calicoes for domestic use or furniture." But the ladies would have their cottons, as the enactment of additional legislation shows, and finally English manufacturers began surreptitiously to imitate the Indian fabrics. Defoe does battle valiantly for the British wool manufacturers. "The Woolen Manufacture is the Staple of our Trade, the Soul of our Commerce, the Original Fountain of our Wealth . . . it is the most essential part of the Riches of the Rich, and the principal Means we have for employing our Poor." He disproves the theory that he was an early

free trader by arguing for forbidding not alone the import of printed cotton but also its being worn. But let reason and logic and com-mercial and political interests be all on the other side, fashion will have its way with the ladies. Defoe's arguments did not avail and printed cottons continued in favor until "the whirligig of time brought its revenge" and silk again came into the ascendancy.

Defoe's "Complete English Tradesman" that pioneer of "success" books for business men, deserves an entire article by itself. Suffice it to say that it covers many sides of a merchant's life, and tells him how to marry wisely and to live with thrift as well as to keep his books, to trade safely, and, alas, to "tell unavoidable trade lies." The ethics of business had not risen to professional levels in the early eighteenth century. His picture of the "complete tradesman" corresponds very nearly with the "economic man" of Adam Smith's hypothesis. The tradesman "behind his counter should have no flesh and blood about him, no passions, no resentment; he must never be angry . . . if a customer tumbles him five hundred pounds worth of goods and scarce bids money for anything. . . . The case is plain; and if some do give him trouble, and do not buy, others make amends and do buy; and as for the trouble, 'tis the business of the shop."

"A General History of Trade and Especially Consider'd as it Respects the British Commerce," 1713, deals for the most part with the loss of the Scotch fisheries, which loss Defoe deplores with vehemence and spite. In politics he undoubtedly employed that bitter pen of his for gain and favor, but it would be hard to doubt the sincerity of his regret "That our private Dissentions, and Party Disputes, should in any thing affect our Commerce," especially when the Scotch are so "furnished, by God and Nature, with Ma-terials for Commerce and the most convenient Ports, with an Ad-vantageous and an Inexhaustable numerous breed of Sailors!"

Defoe was a journalist not only by profession but by tempera-ment and genius. Whatever we may think of his almost complete lack of principle (there are evidences in his later writings of frag-ments of what had been a conscience), we must admire his intense interest in every activity of the times in which he lived, his bound-less resourcefulness and inventive powers, and his ability to present his material in a convincing and entertaining form.

NORTON DETECTING SOCIETY.



Formed for the purpose of
DETECTING HORSE THIEVES,

And procuring Horses, when stolen from any member of said Society.

AARON LINCOLN, JR., President.

EZRA P. WOODWARD, Treasurer.

PETER C. THAYER, Clerk

Assistants. Norton, John R. Bogren, Benj. H. Richmond-Taunton, Leonard L. Short, P. L. Frazier-Rehoboth, E. J. Sanfor^{es}

Members in Norton. Williams Kelly,
Zeno Kelly,
Samuel V.

George White, Jr.
Caleb B. Woodward,
Samuel V.

Noble Caudy,
Cyril V.
Geo.

Daniel Leonard,
Samuel V.

RIDERS.

“Stop Thief!”

THE founding of a society in Norton, Massachusetts, in 1797, for the detecting of horse thieves bears witness that the crime wave is a perennial phenomenon. The Norton Detecting Society was organized for the purpose of putting a stop to the wholesale horse stealing which had previously gone on in the vicinity of that town. Farmers had frequently been compelled to sit up all night to keep off thieves.

The fee for protection was one dollar for the first horse, and fifty cents for each additional horse protected. When a call came in that a horse had been stolen, a “rider” was appointed to go off in pursuit. How often the riders were successful in catching their quarry does not appear in the records of the Society, which is still in existence. It has just celebrated its hundred and thirtieth anniversary with a clam-bake.

Silks, Velvets and Spices

SOPHIA HALL GLIDDEN

Manuscript Division

THE papers of "Israel Thorndike, Esq." are the first manuscript collection arranged and mounted by Baker Library. They are fragmentary first hand tales of shipwrecks; of the capture and imprisonment of sailors and sea captains; of trading meat, metals and upland cotton for silks and spices (these were the early days of the American pepper trade), by bright, vivid young captains and super-cargoes who were virtually agents of a wealthy house, and whose reports of the market and conditions in foreign seaport towns were a valuable portion of America's knowledge of foreign economic and political affairs. Very many of them are the sort that the files of a firm today would disclose,—deeds, bonds, contracts, bills, bank vouchers and memoranda of various sorts; and, in addition, others relating particularly to shipping,—charter parties of affreightment, bills of portage, bills of lading, impost and other bonds, insurance policies, et cetera. It is interesting to watch the evolution of modern business forms among them,—first, diverse, hand written papers; then printed, some with Puritanical, pious verbosity; and finally, uniform, almost modern printed forms — even bill heads and bank checks.

There are occasional more personal items, such as a bill in a feminine hand, "reconed and settled with Mrs Down 5 days works
her
and a leg of porke, received the above Elizabeth X Down;" and

mark
a recipe for "Russ cake" calling for "7½ flour, 1 qt yeast, 5 eggs, 1 oz alspice and a little salt. Then take 3 pints (new) milk 2½ sugar and 6 oz butter, melt them together and when luke warm stirin the eggs — mix the whole together and when well rizen add 1½ currents." There are whole legal-sized sheets of bills for bread, and housewifely inventories of clothes, or books of the son who went to Bowdoin. A memorandum shows that his total expenses for term no. 1 were \$62, and \$80 for term no. 2. They charged about four shillings for making a silk dress in 1804 or 1805, and gas (for the Tremont Row Bank) cost 3½ mills per foot in 1847 and 1848.

There is a small handfull of papers which contain a broken story. In the very early days of his firm Israel Thorndike sent out the ship "Sally." A letter tells much of the story: "Certify We left the port of Charlestown [meaning Charleston, S. C., as ascertained from other papers] on the 7th day bound [for the West Indies]. . . . On the 8th we sprung a leak in Lat. 33 W Long. 77.17W We were obliged to keep a pump constantly agoing on the ninth the wind shifted. We steered to the nearest [land] when we saw that we could nolonger hold it, not even with both pumps —, we thought proper to go about and steer with an aft wind in order to pump the water which we accomplished in three quarters of an hour. On the 10th continuing to make a great deal of water, we took reefs. . . . We then [11th] shifted the sails so as to steer with an aft wind — The captain and mate threw the sounding lead and found four feet of water in the hold, — then we thought proper to steer our course for the West Indies and thus we came to Cap-francois — In consequence we do protest against the wind and weather. —

Mar. 22, 1790"

It appears from scattered memoranda that the "protest" was one of the early legal steps in a case brought to court. It seems that on its previous trip, the "Sally" had run aground on a sandbar near the dock at Charleston, South Carolina. There were five folded sheets of notes, questions in very legal phraseology, which had brief answers in a different hand. There was also a copy of a notorial report of the jury sent to examine the ship for the underwriters, which certified that there were: "15 timbers rotten—star board side 7 on the Larboard & besides 4 split and incapable of holding nails. That in the hold they found five of the timbers on the starboard side & four on the Larboard side which were entirely rotten — that to repair the vessel it is needing thirtyfive timbers which are rotten." Lastly, there was a paper folded to make a wrapper, marked: "Papers concerning the Ship Sally Dolliver Master, Higginson and Parsons owners, Brown and Thorndike & others underwriters

Lawsute determined against underwriters etc. Papers are useless unless the underwriters sues the freighters for freight

July 1797"

One of the letters — nearly the last of Thorndyke's own writing — gives quite the most complete picture of the kindness, force and foresight, and the fine consideration and tact of the man, to be

found in any one document. It is addressed to William E. Touth, Esq. ". . . I have seen and conversed with the widow of the late Capt. Giles who I am sorry to say is left in rather indigent circumstances and of course it is very important to her and her family that the most possible should be made of what Capt. Giles left. — An impression seems to be made on the minds of the heirs that Capt. Giles had much more property than appears that he had from the statement you make, and they seem to fear that all the property which he left never came into your hands, and that some of it had been lost or plundered before it came to your hands amongst which is ment. his beding and cloathing, which they say was valuable, none of the former and very little of the latter has ever come to hand, not even to the value of £5 stlg in all. — I tell Mrs. Giles that so far as you have any agency in this unfortunate business she may depend on haveing justice done her, and that I would write to you and request of you to git all the information possible as to the detail of the accounts, inventory of the property, cloathing and so forth and what had become of them and therefore will thank you to furnish to Mrs. Giles every information, in detail, that you can. — From inquiry I fear that there is no insurance on the Brigt. that can be recovered, but I should suppose that Mrs. Giles can and will if necessary pay £200 stlg if you should be unfortunate in the sute now pending in the appeal, I have assured this *good* unfortunate Lady that you will do all in our power to promote her interest, and I pray that you will make every exertion to produce a favourable issue in the cause now pending and that as *soon as possible* that this family may be relieved from the suspense under which they labr. — Mr. Robert Rogers who is a friend of mine and has some small acquaintance with Mrs. Giles family or rather a man in whom she would place great confidence is now on the point of sailing from New York for England, and it is her particular desire that you would prevail on Mr. Rogers to look into *all* the accounts of her late husband and give him every information about the property before and after his decease, that he might be able to give her the state of it and to see if he could trace any that has not fallen into your hands. — I shall write Mr. Rogers this day, but he may be off from N. York before my letter reaches that city and therefore I have to request your finding Mr. R. and communicateing this Mrs. Giles and my request to him. — I believe he has some business with Mr. Henry Higginson, I presume he may be found by inquiring of Mr. H. —

I am with much respect
Your friend and obt. servn. Israel Thorndike"

J. A. 109

Handbuch. Band 2. S. 9

last month on the 6th of October

A SHIP'S BILL OF LADING. 1841

Note the phraseology of a Puritanical age. This represents the end of that period.

Israel Thorndike was one of the early ship owners who became interested in manufacturing. Certain letters mention some interest in the cotton trade; a small group of papers (1821-62) is chiefly composed of bills for services rendered the Provident Institution for Savings, one of the earliest savings banks in Massachusetts; another (1850-59) relates to the Boston Sugar Refinery; and a few scattered letters refer to the Norwich Woolen Mills. It has not yet become quite certain whether some of these are not extraneous to a precise Israel Thorndike collection, since his death in 1832 would naturally mark the end of his interest. The question arises as to whether these were accumulated through the hands of his heirs.

Israel Thorndike was born in Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1755. His schooling was only what he had in the common schools of the town. In the Revolutionary War he served ably as part owner and captain of an armed ship. As soon as peace was declared he engaged with his brother-in-law, Moses Brown, for a partner, in importing and exporting, wholesale and retail trade in Beverly, at which period these papers begin. Moses Brown retired in 1800 with an "ample" fortune, and Israel Thorndike directed the business alone. In 1810 he moved his business to Boston, for trade was centering there, but he continued to reside in his native town. He participated in the political life of his day as a member of the convention called for the adopting of the Constitution of the United States, and as a representative and senator in the legislature of Massachusetts. Although a Federalist of Washington's school, he is recorded as one of the members of the General Court who voted for that much-condemned convention at Hartford in 1814, because he was driven by the insecurity of policies during the War of 1812, to try to save the economic life of seafaring enterprise. It may be of interest that at his death in 1832, he left an estate worth a million and a half dollars.

Harvard University is indebted to Moses Brown, a graduate of 1768, who, when he died in 1820, bequeathed \$2,000 to the Theological School; and to Israel Thorndike for five hundred dollars (1806) to found a Natural History professorship and an equal amount in 1818 for the library of the Theological School. In 1818 also, he bought from the agent of the King of Prussia an invaluable library, containing many books printed in the smaller houses of New England, and at that time already out of print, collected by Professor Ebeling of Hamburg, and presented it to Harvard University, "thereby securing to this country one of the most complete and valuable collections of works extant on American history."

In Memoriam

AGAIN the Society has sustained a great loss in the death of three members:

Mr. S. DAVIES WARFIELD died on the fourth of October, at Baltimore, Maryland. Mr. Warfield was a prominent figure in railroad activities. He was President of the Seaboard Air Line Railway, and in 1917 he came into national prominence when he organized the owners of railroad securities into a countrywide association, representing holders of over \$10,000,000,000 of investments.

Mr. Warfield was born in Baltimore, in 1867. He began in an office position, but by 1890 he had acquired the resources to organize a manufacturing company of his own. He was the organizer of the Continental Trust Company, of which he became President. Later he was a member of an organization committee that consolidated and built railroad properties constituting the Seaboard Air Line Railway.

He was given credit by labor heads for settling the strike of 400,000 members of the railroad shop crafts in the summer of 1922. He was active in Democratic politics, being early recognized as the head of the younger independents. He will be greatly missed in the many organizations in which he was active, and not least by The Business Historical Society, which loses in him a most valuable member.

Mr. EDWARD A. WOODS, a Vice-President, and one of the most active members of the Society, died suddenly at his home in Sewickley, Pa., on November 30, at the height of his active career. Mr. Woods was President of the Edward A. Woods Company of Pittsburgh, for years the largest Life Insurance agency in the world. He was elected President of the National Association of Life Underwriters in 1915, and ever since then his progressive spirit has been one of the dominating factors in the affairs of the Association. He was born in Pittsburgh, in 1865, and entered his father's life insurance business at the age of fifteen. At eighteen he went to the University of Pittsburgh (then Western University), but was forced after one year to return to the business. When his father retired, in 1890, he became general agent. His own company was incorporated in 1911. Mr. Woods was a director in several com-

panies. Among his many activities may be included his appointment as Chairman of a committee formed to coöperate with The Business Historical Society, Inc. (by the Directors of the National Association of Life Underwriters, in 1926). In this capacity he circularized the constituent Companies of the Association on behalf of the Society and by this means secured for us much valuable data relating to the insurance business and obtained for us publicity which will be fruitful for years to come. The Society suffers an irreparable loss by his death.

Mr. GEORGE C. DEMPSEY, of Brookline, died on December 9 at the Phillips House, Massachusetts General Hospital. Born in Lowell in 1865, he was educated at the Lowell public schools and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. After a year of travel, he became a partner with his father, a dealer in liquors. In 1900, on the retirement of the elder Dempsey, the firm became Dempsey and Keyes. Three years later the firm moved the major portion of its business to Boston. When the liquor controversy arose in 1906, Mr. Dempsey appeared before the Secretary of Agriculture to represent the intelligent thought from the liquor dealers' side, and won high praise from Secretary Wilson. He was a member of many organizations, and a frequent donor to charities. Mr. Dempsey was a well-known collector of rare sketches and photographs. He took a deep and active interest in the Society, and will be greatly missed there as well as by his many friends and business associates.

Secretary's Column

THE receipts of historical material during the past month have covered a wide range of subjects and contain much valuable and interesting data. Among the most notable additions to our store of information are included the following:

Federation of British Industries, London.—The 1927 Year Book and files of the Bulletins of the Federation covering a term of years.

Charles D. Armstrong, President, Armstrong Cork Company, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.—Pamphlets and other information on the development of the cork business.

Hale Holden, President, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, Railroad, Chicago, Illinois. — The Corporate History of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, prepared for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

F. L. Lipman, President, Wells Fargo Bank and Union Trust Company, San Francisco. — Historical information and photographs connected with the early days of the Wells Fargo Express business.

Estabrook and Eaton, Cigar dealers, Boston. — Six boxes of old account books.

American Chamber of Commerce in France, Paris. — Directory of Americans in France. Copies of organization publication, "Foreign Affairs."

Estate of Frederick Ayer, Boston. — Miscellaneous financial reports.

William Butler, Treasurer, Fisher Body Corporation Division, General Motors Corporation, Detroit, Michigan. — First edition "Wealth of Nations" by Adam Smith — two volumes.

Robert L. Smitley, New York. — Manuscript letter books and monographs.

Alanson Bigelow, Jr., President, Bigelow, Kennard and Company, Boston. — Early records relating to the jewelry business for investigation and later decision as to disposition.

Chamber of Commerce, State of New York. — Annual reports of proceedings.

The general membership of the Society has suffered the loss by death of Mr. S. Davies Warfield, President of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, Mr. Edward A. Woods, of the Edward A. Woods Company, Pittsburgh, Pa., and Mr. George C. Dempsey, of Brookline, and has additions of the following names:

Myron C. Taylor, New York City — Life member.

Warren S. Hayden, Hayden, Miller and Company, Cleveland, Ohio.

Alanson Bigelow, Jr., President, Bigelow, Kennard and Company, Boston.

James A. Farrell, President, United States Steel Corporation, New York.

Jesse L. Lasky, First Vice-President, Paramount Famous Lasky Corporation, New York.

A. R. Graustein, President, International Paper Company, New York.

J. Duncan Phillips, Treasurer, Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston.

Martin J. Insull, President, Middle West Utilities Company, Chicago.

Hon. Will H. Hays, President, Motion Picture Producers and Distributors, Inc., New York.

William Woodward, President, Hanover National Bank, New York.

Roy E. Sturtevant, Ludowici-Celadon Company, Chicago.

Leo F. Wormser, Trustee, Rosenwald Industrial Museum, Chicago.

The affiliated membership has received additions of the following:

Professor John U. Nef, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Federation of British Industries, London, England.

John Marshall Holcombe, Jr., Manager, Life Insurance Sales Research Bureau, Hartford, Connecticut.

Reinhold T. Pusch, New York American, New York.

Margaret Reynolds, Librarian, First Wisconsin National Bank, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Dr. Louis K. Manley, Dean, School of Business Administration, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Dr. John H. Cover, Director of Business Research, School of Business Administration, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Arthur S. Warren, Secretary, Industrial Museum Committee, American Steel and Wire Company, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Professor Raymond Chambers, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York.

There are now enrolled in this Society two hundred and thirty-six general members, and forty-nine affiliated members.

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Volume II, No. 2

MARCH, 1928

Whole Number 12

A Record of Colonial Craftsmanship

BUILDING was an event in seventeenth-century America. In 1637, a "schoale, or colledge," for which the Massachusetts General Court had voted four hundred pounds the previous year, was "ordered to be at New Towne." The next year, the name of New Towne was changed to Cambridge, and the "colledge" was ordered to be called Harvard College.¹ Thirty-four years later, the first building was falling into disrepair. The towns of the colony were called upon to make an appropriation for a new one, "of brick and stone," and the agency for building it was given to Deacon John Cooper and one William Manning.

The agents had their troubles. Several times the elders or ministers of refractory towns had to be urged to "stirr up the inhabitants to the pious and necessary worke" of making their payments. In one case the appeal was reinforced by a remotely appropriate quotation from the scriptures. Some of the towns "never did contribute anything at all."

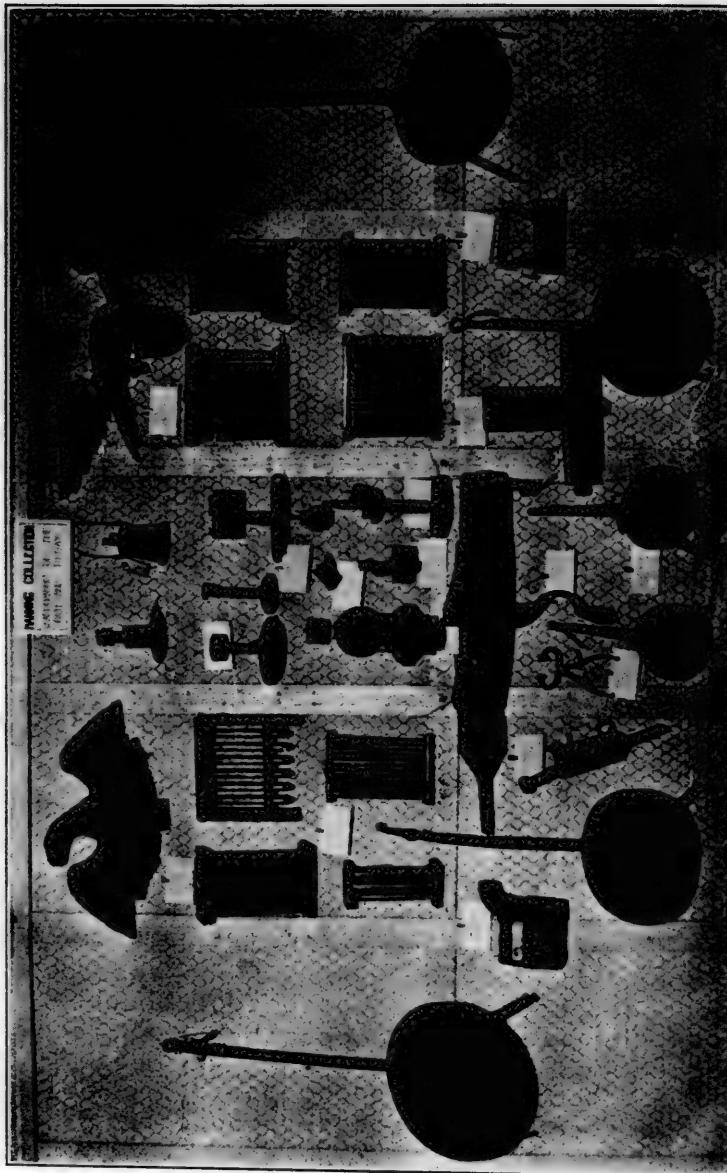
At another time, Mr. Manning writes, "Wee Want three cases of hal pacte staires, 20 tunes of lyme stone, 12 thousand foot of boards besides other material," and "Wee have nothing or very little to purchase them." However, in 1677, the "colledge" was finished. It stood until 1764, when it caught fire and burned down.

A display case in the Manuscript Room of the Baker Library contains the relics of the old hall, together with some discarded equipment of other buildings, excavated at the back of the present Harvard Hall. There are bricks of odd shapes, one of them an oval ornament for a window; pieces of floor tile; bits of china; a frag-

¹ From the *Manning Manse Messenger*, prepared by Walter Manning of the Women's World, Chicago, when President of the Manning Association.

THINGS NO PIONEER HOUSEWIFE SHOULD BE WITHOUT

Early colonial households were lighted by candles, made at home in moulds like the four in the photograph, and Betty lamps. The first form of Betty lamp is shown in the center of the picture, with a Newburyport Betty at its right. The long contrivance below the lamps is a sausage gun, described in the accompanying article



ment of a gun flint; the bone handle of a lady's parasol; a broken instrument of "Natural Philosophy," (part of a barometer); a single stirrup; and fragments of long clay pipes that were in vogue in the heyday of the old building.

They were salvaged by the Manning family association, descendants of William Manning. Mr. Warren H. Manning, the Secretary, heard a radio talk given by the Executive Secretary of The Business Historical Society last winter, on the work and purposes of the Society. He became interested, and the result was that he contributed both the Harvard Hall collection and one larger and of more significant economic interest. This second collection now covers two walls of the Manuscript Room. With its material ranging from three legged skillets to a broad-axe, it is a tangible bit of American economic history.

These tools and utensils are the equipment of the old household industries, the prevalent form of manufacturing in the United States down to 1830. Agriculture, fishing, lumbering, shipbuilding and trading were much better suited to the country than manufacturing on a large scale. The consequence was that factories did not gain a foot-hold in America until the interruption of commerce with Great Britain by the War of 1812, threw the new nation on its own resources.

Alexander Hamilton says, in his "Report on Manufactures," in 1791: "Besides manufactoryes of these articles," (leather, iron, tools and machinery, textile goods, paper and a dozen others), "which are carried on as regular trades and have attained to a considerable degree of maturity, there is a vast scene of household manufacturing . . . Great quantities of coarse cloths, etc, . . . are made in the household way, and in many instances, to an extent not only sufficient for the supply of the families in which they are made, but for sale, and even . . . for exportation. It is computed in a number of districts that two thirds, three fourths, and even four fifths of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themselves."¹

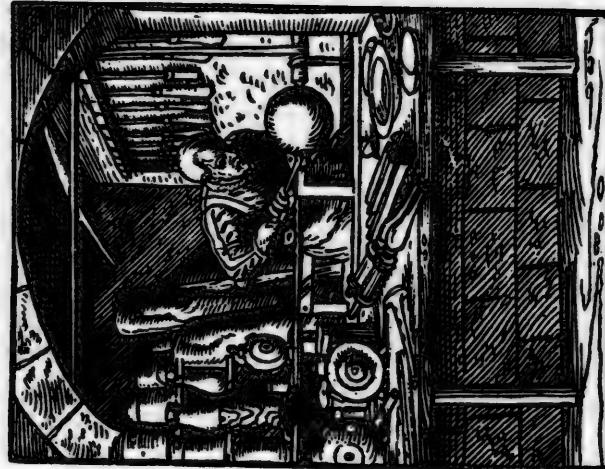
One homestead would combine a number of industries, particularly in the country; but even the townsman was more or less Jack of all trades, as for example, one John Marshall "received about 4 shillings a day at Braintree from 1697 to 1711. He farmed a little, made laths in the winter, was painter and carpenter, was messenger, and burned bricks, bought and sold live stock. . . . In one day he could make 300 laths."²

¹ Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*.

² Bogart, *op. cit.*

ANCIENT CRAFTSMANSHIP IN WOOD

Sixteenth- and eighteenth-century wood-turners at work. The illustration on the left was taken from "Panoplia" (referred to in an earlier issue), and that on the right from a similar Dutch book, illustrating the handicrafts of the eighteenth century.



Candles, the principal means of illumination in colonial days, were made at home, in moulds like the ones shown in the illustration. Candles, however, were supplemented in a few households by various types of lamps burning animal or vegetable oils — whale oil, after the whaling industry came into prominence. The Dutch lamp called a Betty lamp by the English was the first one in use in the colonies. The lamps that were brought over by the Mayflower pilgrims were of this type.

The collection contains a Betty of this simple form, pear-shaped, and flat on the top and bottom, with a hinged lid, and the wick projecting at the pointed end. There is another of the type known as the Newburyport Betty, the first lamps to be made in America. There is a small glass one for camphene, a patent slot lamp of much later date, and other interesting early forms. A small miner's lamp is made in the shape of a tiny coffee pot, the spout being the wick-holder. The unprotected flame indicates some of the hazards of working in the mines of Michigan when they were first being developed.

The great meat-packing houses will find the origin of their business on the colonial farms, where hams were cured in the smoke-house, and the meat for sausages was chopped, then put into the large end of a funnel-like device and forced out of the small end into the skin by means of a plunger. The illustration shows a rather elaborate sausage gun from Pennsylvania, worked by means of a ratchet.

Though in some forms of wood-working the changes in machinery have been as radical as have those in other industries, there is still much hand-work done on wood in the better grades of furniture. For this work, there has been surprisingly little change in the tools since the time when three of the planes in the Manning collection were used in building the old Middlesex Canal which connected Lowell, Massachusetts with Boston. The stock is now made of steel as well as wood, and the gauge is adjustable with screws, but otherwise there is little difference between the modern article and that in use at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Not all the tools of the carpenter's trade, however, were as well developed as the planes. Two nose augers, which had to be withdrawn after each turn to get rid of the shaving, bear witness to this.

Another part of the collection, made up of skillets, a set of trammel hooks, for hanging kettles from a crane or chimney at various heights, sad-irons, heated from within by burning charcoal,

and other domestic equipment, cannot be called implements of industry in the present sense of the word. But from the consumer's point of view they show how far civilization has advanced in the last century and a half. To be sure, a modern housewife could not cook a hundred times as many meals over a gas range as her great-great-grandmother did with her kettle hung on a crane, and her baking in a brick oven. But any woman who has cooked with both gas and coal will testify that the trials of house-keeping have been diminished in an amazing degree even in the last generation. And the methods used in commercial baking show that invention would have been equal to the exigency if consumers had come to demand more meals a day.'

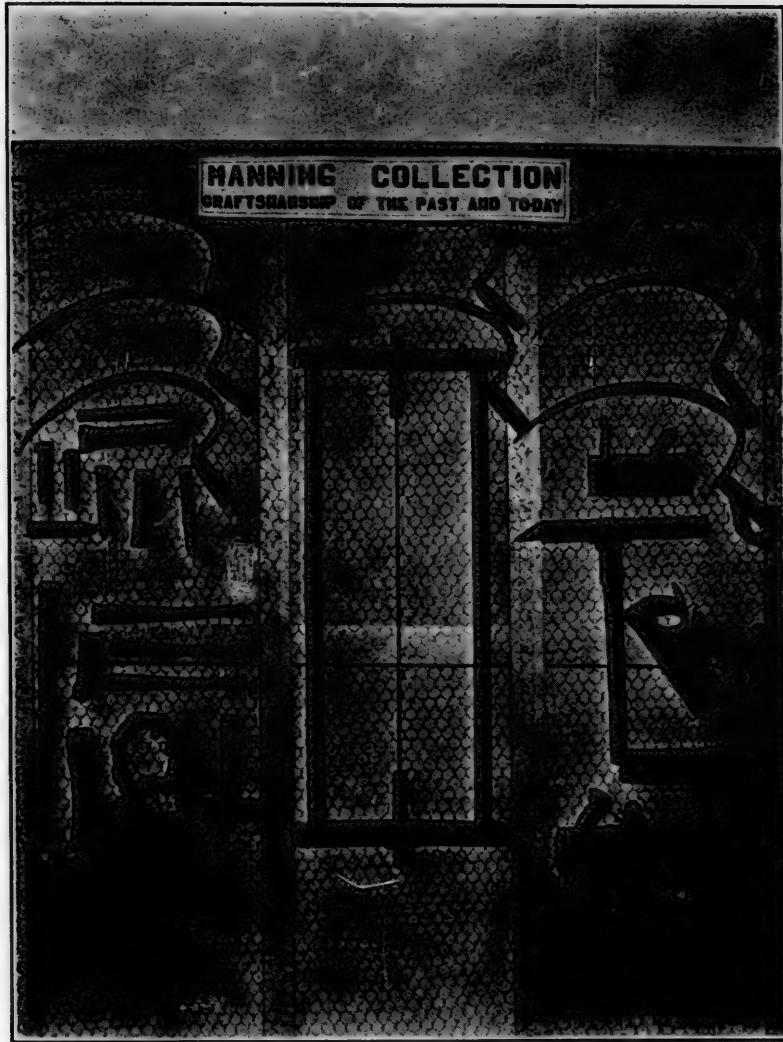
The inscription that will be over the exhibit states that it is a "memorial to William Manning of Cambridge (1634), whose son, Samuel, built the Manning Manse in Billerica (1696), now owned by his descendants in the Manning Association and from which came the first one hundred and fifty items to initiate this collection, November 3, 1927.

"William Manning was Selectman of Cambridge from 1652 to 1683 and a merchant who served his town in many ways. In 1668 he was officially delegated to visit England to persuade Rev. Uriah Oakes to 'be an Officer amongst us.' He came and was pastor of the church and President of Harvard College."

The family history has in it much that is picturesque, as the history of pioneers is likely to have, and an amusing side as well. It is to a Manning that we owe the first of the pop-corn balls which are sold at every way-side stand. It is also to a Manning that we owe the record in writing of the views of that politically minded generation of farmers who lived at the time of the Revolution, and one of the earliest American proposals to unionize labor. "The Key of Libberty" was written by William Manning of Billerica, a great-grandson of William Manning of Cambridge, who fought in 1776. It was to be a "remidy" for the many and knotty problems which were the aftermath of the Revolution.

He was ahead of his time in New England, where no labor movement had yet arisen, and the book never found its way into print until it was published by the Manning Association in 1922. There is a copy of the book in the Baker Library, and manuscripts are at the Manse in Billerica, and at Harvard College Library.

"The Key of Libberty" is full of practical good sense that is keen, though narrow and based on a frank and complete cynicism, and belief in the selfishness and depravity of human nature.



SAMPLES OF COLONIAL TOOLS

Some of these, like the plane, in the lower right-hand corner (from the old Middlesex Canal), or the stone-cutter's tools, would be recognized easily by modern workmen. Others, like the frow for splitting shingles, the twibil, used in making mortices and grooves, and the whip saw and hand-wrought sickles, are never seen in modern trades. Probably no twentieth-century horse would be caught wearing a patent shoe like the one in the center at the bottom of the left panel, but it probably served its turn at one time, in case of accident on a lonely road.

"The most comprehensive description of Man I ever saw," says he, "was by a writer as followeth: — Viz — Man is a being made up of Selfe Love seeking his own hapiness to the misery of all around him, who would Damne a world to save him selfe from temporal or other punishment, & he who denyes this to be his real carrictor is ignorant of him selfe, or else is more than a man."

However, in spite of the fact that the author was "not a Man of Larning him selfe, for he neaver had the advantage of six months schooling in his life," he hit unaided upon the two "remidies" for the troubles of the laborer which are today recognized as most effective — education and organization.

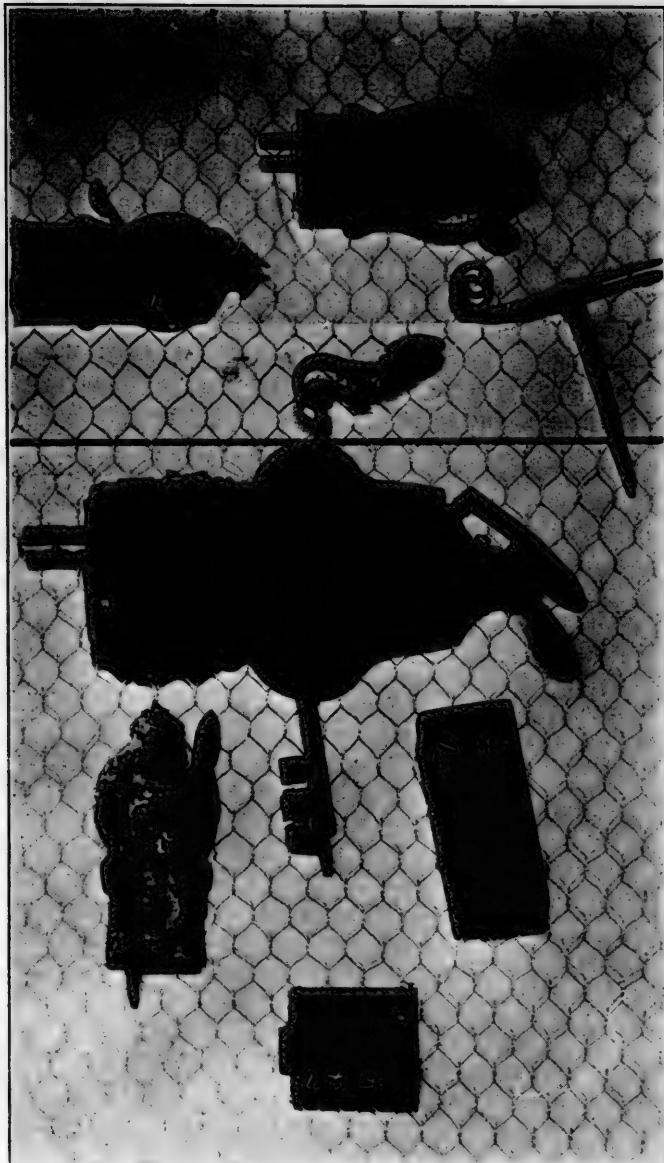
The Manning archives offer no end of interesting opportunities for study. The evolution of tools from simpler to more complicated forms may be traced in the various groups. The influence of climate is noticeable in the greater commonness of three-legged skillets, made for cooking over out-of-door fires, in Pennsylvania and the Southern states than in New England; and of race in the Scandinavian character of workmanship in Northern Michigan.

The value of a museum in connection with business education is well illustrated in the collection. Such an exhibit creates a much more vivid and lasting picture in the mind of the student than an unaided text-book description of the same thing.

A very complete picture of a given period may be constructed, or industrial development traced from material which is not ordinarily included in a library. Of this character are broadsides; maps; trade insignia such as were used on the mediaeval inns, and are still used in such trades as those of barber and pawnbroker; charters of companies; business forms and the like.

Exhibits of pictures, models or actual tools and machinery present infinite possibilities. For instance, Mr. Manning's large collection of planes, arranged, as they are, in chronological order, with a description of their uses, the costs, methods and volumes of production, and the methods of their distribution, would be a source of practical aid in the further improvement of the modern instrument. Likewise, the development of the lathe would be clearly and interestingly illustrated by completing the series begun in the illustrations of wood-turning, on page four.

The Manning Association is to be congratulated on the example it has set in detecting the meaning and value of these relics. With the development of an interest in business history in the country it is hoped that other objects will be rescued from oblivion, before it is too late.



PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH LOCKS

The large one in the center is said to have come from the old State House at Harrisburg.

"Dead Men Tell Unusual Tales"

THE Byron Weston Company, paper manufacturers of Dalton, Massachusetts, have been using the historical route to publicity through a contest for the purpose of unearthing old American documents. The prize stories were collected into a book entitled "Dead Men Tell Unusual Tales," and The Business Historical Society has been presented with a copy. The material in these papers runs all the way from the earliest official document in the history of San Francisco to the price of "a hot dinner of good provisions," which was twelve and a half dollars in a North Carolina inn in 1780. There are the wills of Jonathan Edwards, Kit Carson and Buffalo Bill, besides that of a kind and ungrammatical old gentleman who left money to the birds around his house, and of a religious zealot who left his whole property to Jesus Christ, "in consideration of love and good will of the Lord Jesus, and one cent found on the premises of His, the rightful owner of all lands." Altogether, the book has a good deal of real interest, and illustrates the part history is coming to play in advertising.

The First Book Publication of the Society

"THE Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Alexander Hamilton," the first book published under the auspices of The Business Historical Society, incorporated, was sent to each member of the Society toward the last of February. It was compiled by Arthur H. Cole, Assistant Professor of Economics at Harvard University, and a member of the Society. The book brings to light new information on the industrial and commercial activities of a period when the economic and political status of the United States was very much in doubt.

"These letters," says Mr. Ayres, the Executive Secretary of the Society, "are the raw material from which Hamilton wrote his famous Report on Manufactures, 1791, which gave the first impetus to the protective tariff in this country, and was the first attempt to survey the industrial resources of the United States. The book should be of interest to the rapidly growing group of business men who are turning to the past for help in solving some of the present day economic and business problems."

One Way of Collecting a Debt

PROBABLY few members of the present generation, who shudder at the inhumanity of the old laws allowing imprisonment for debt, realize that it is still allowable under the laws of certain states. In New York and Pennsylvania, for example, a man may be imprisoned for debt incurred by neglect or misconduct in any professional employment. In Nevada, he may lose his liberty for non-payment of damages arising out of cases of fraud, libel and slander. And in Massachusetts, he may be sent to prison even for ordinary breach of contract if he owes as much as twenty dollars, exclusive of costs, and if his creditor can prove any one of six charges, among them, "that since the debt was contracted the debtor has hazarded or paid money or other property to the value of \$100 or more in some kind of gaming prohibited by the law of the State."

In spite of these laws that are still on the statute books, the question of imprisonment for debt as a practical issue is dead. It has been settled by the separate action of the states. In some, the constitutions expressly prohibit imprisonment for any kind of debt. In others, the only civil debt for which it is permitted is one involving fraud. Even in Massachusetts, where it is still legally possible, the use of this ancient weapon by a creditor would be found highly impracticable.

The reform was accomplished about the middle of the last century both in England and America. Dickens and Thackeray were its ablest supporters in the field of public opinion, but they had their precursors. In 1823, the Society for the Relief of the Distressed, in Boston, distributed several thousand copies of a speech by Col. Richard Johnson, of Kentucky, in the United States Senate, on a proposition to abolish imprisonment for debt.

Col. Johnson denounces it as "an awful exception, both in our civil and criminal code, which . . . is repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution."

"The power of the creditor to imprison his debtor," he says, "is the only case in the United States, where, among free men, one citizen has legal authority to deprive his co-equal fellow citizen, at discretion, of the right of personal liberty. . . . You vest the creditor with the prerogative of Heaven, without imparting to him its attributes of righteousness or mercy."

He appeals to his fellow congressmen in the name of humanity, good sense, and the gospel to wipe out this last vestige of tyranny,

which punishes misfortune, without trial, more severely than many forms of guilt. It is of real advantage to nobody, and deprives the community, and his relatives, of the benefit of the debtor's labor.

The usual rationalizations of the temperamental conservative were the only defenses urged in its favor.

"But touch not this ancient custom, is the language of some," says Col. Johnson. "The same language was held during the Revolutionary conflict, in relation to kingly government. . . . The same language might be held in relation to the holy inquisition, which has existed for centuries past."

In another place he attacks the argument that the law which then prevailed was a mere shadow, and that honorable men would not take advantage of it.

"If the law is so barbarous that honourable men are unwilling to execute it, then for the honour of the country, I beseech you, blot it out."

At the end of the speech, the Boston society has appended a number of the most distressing cases of hardship to debtors and their families which arose from the debt laws. In one case, "a few years since, a man was taken from his home, some miles from Cambridge jail, on a severe cold winter night, and committed to jail, without being supplied with fire or bed clothes. In the morning he was found frozen to death."

On another occasion, a woman named Hannah Crispy, with an infant "so feeble as to require constant attention," was confined in a Boston jail for an original debt of twelve dollars. "She and the child remained in a crowded apartment of the jail over 20 days, when the infant became so bad that its life was despaired of, being constantly in fits for three or four days; a few hours before it died, it was taken out to breathe its last in the arms of a stranger, while its miserable mother was kept in confinement; the unfeeling creditor refusing to discharge her on any conditions short of getting his debt. After the child died many severe remarks were made," with the consequence that the attorney discharged Mrs. Crispy, on his own responsibility, to attend the funeral.

On the last page are printed the statistics on commitments for debt to the Boston jails for the three preceding years. The statistics, reproduced in the illustration, show the use of the institution in practice more as a petty threat than as a valuable means of legal enforcement, although it still did undoubtedly cause great distress when the threat was carried out. Of the 1442 commit-

COMMITMENTS FOR DEBT**IN BOSTON JAIL***(Taken from the jail Records.)*

			Discharged	
	1820.	Commitments.	Under \$20.	by Creditors.
Jan.	125	75	36	11
Feb.	116	72	59	13
March.	107	49	49	14
April.	112	50	60	13
May.	103	60	42	
June.	157	94	84	28
July.	124	73	65	22
Aug.	140	82	62	17
Sept.	110	57	55	8
Oct.	111	68	51	13
Nov.	127	86	54	10
Dec.	110	77	32	19
	1442	861	669	168
				174
1821.				
Jan.	77	47	30	9
Feb.	79	49	37	14
March.	105	54	34	29
April.	83	53	43	8
May.	93	63	36	10
June.	110	43	42	19
July.	144	43	43	12
Aug.	169	110	46	23
Sept.	153	84	42	13
Oct.	94	70	39	14
Nov.	82	43	31	14
Dec.	92	50	26	20
	1281	709	449	185
				164
1822.				
Jan.	66	58	36	4
Feb.	68	53	32	5
March.	63	57	33	5
April.	86	55	37	12
May.	91	66	43	5
June.	114	70	34	6
July.	127	83	56	9
Aug.	88	51	26	6
Sept.	66	37	17	5
	769	524	314	57
				92

THE HAZARDS OF BORROWING MONEY A CENTURY AGO

Statistics published by the Boston Society for the Relief of the Distressed, during the agitation to abolish imprisonment for debt, in which Dickens and Thackeray played so prominent a part.

ments in 1820, about sixty per cent were for debts of less than twenty dollars. Again, about sixty per cent were released by their creditors, or "swore out." The poor debtor's oath was a new thing since the Revolution. Apparently, such drastic measures were already moribund.

Imprisonment for debt was an autocratic weapon out of accord with the spirit of the times. Yet, in spite of the efforts of humanitarians and advanced thinkers, custom continued to prevail over progressive thought for another generation.

In Memoriam

THE Business Historical Society shares with Harvard University an irreparable loss in the death of Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge. Professor Coolidge died at his home in Boston, on Saturday, January 16, after a notable career as a teacher, diplomat, scholar and editor.

He was born in Boston, in 1866, and was educated at Harvard University, the University of Berlin, Ecole des Sciences Politiques, and Freiburg University. After occupying diplomatic posts at St. Petersburg, Paris and Vienna, he came home, in 1892, and became instructor of history at Harvard. Later he became successively assistant professor and full professor in his department, and in 1908 he was appointed a director in Harvard College Library.

Subsequently he gave courses at the Lowell Institute here; accompanied William Howard Taft on a mission to the Philippines; lectured at the Sorbonne, in Paris; was for a year exchange professor to the University of Berlin, and performed confidential missions to Russia and Sweden. After the World War, he performed a similar service in visiting Vienna, and he was a member of the American delegation to the peace Congress at Versailles in 1919.

For years Professor Coolidge was the editor of "Foreign Affairs," and he was the author of a number of historical works dealing with this country and with Europe. He was a scholar in the whole field of history, but his particular interest was in modern diplomatic history. He was an authority on Central and Eastern Europe and the Near and Far East. Professor C. H. Haskins of the Department of History says of him that he made Harvard one of the world's great centers of historical study in his particular field. He was a great librarian, and a great editor.

Professor Coolidge was a member of the Massachusetts and Virginia Historical Societies, and the American Historical Associa-

tion. When The Business Historical Society was founded, he became one of its charter members. His loss will be deeply felt by Harvard University and by all those who are interested in the field of history.

Secretary's Column

THE Secretary takes pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of many important additions to our store of information. Among the most notable are the following:

J. A. Farrell, President of the United States Steel Corporation, New York.
Seven bound volumes of the Addresses of the late Judge Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the United States Steel Corporation.
Also pamphlet material prepared by the Committee of Safety.

Joseph G. Butler, Jr., Youngstown, Ohio.
Personal publication entitled "Recollections of Men and Events" and material connected with the McKinley Birthplace Memorial.

Hale Holden, President, Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, Chicago.
Reports of the Veterans' Association of the Burlington Route and other records.

Fitzhenry Smith, Jr., Boston.
"The Harlem Legend of the Invention of Printing." A. Van der Linde.

Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York.
"The Early History of the Annuity." E. W. Kopf.

J. R. Nutt, President, Union Trust Company, Cleveland, Ohio.
Pamphlets on Cleveland banks and banking.

Hon. William M. Butler, President, Butler Mills, New Bedford, Massachusetts.
Series of State Reports.

Sam A. Lewisohn, of Adolph Lewisohn and Sons, New York.
Personal publication "The New Leadership in Industry."

Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut.
Quantity of Insurance Reports, Year books, etc.

Professor Henri See, Rennes, France.
French, Spanish and German pamphlet material.

The Society has received fifteen additional members since the last report, resulting in a total membership of two hundred and fifty as of this date. The latest members are as follows:

Sam A. Lewisohn, of Adolph Lewisohn and Sons, New York.
Charles E. Goodspeed, Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston.
Hon. Eliot Wadsworth, Boston.
Frank A. Geier, President, Cincinnati Milling Machine Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Marcus Fechheimer, of Benjamin D. Blodgett and Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Alfred J. Friedlander, of Edgar Friedlander and Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Charles W. Dupuis, President, Central Trust Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
John Omwake, President, United States Playing Card Company, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Walter R. Callender, of Callender, McAuslan and Troup Company, Providence, R. I.
William E. Nickerson, Vice-President, Gillette Safety Razor Company, Boston.
Nathan Anthony, of Tucker, Anthony and Company, Boston.
Hon. Charles G. Washburn, President, The Washburn Company, Worcester, Mass.
Harry R. Sinclair, President, Worcester Stamped Metal Company, Worcester.
Maurice F. Reidy, Realtor, Worcester.
John E. White, President, Worcester Bank and Trust Company, Worcester.

The affiliated membership now numbers fifty-two members, having received the following additions:

Roberts Everett, Secretary, Dairy and Ice Cream Machinery and Supplies Association, New York.
Mrs. Nan W. Hancock, Librarian, New York University, New York.
Mrs. H. A. Wetmore, Librarian, Henry L. Doherty and Company, New York.
Professor Reginald McGrane, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The affiliated membership roll has suffered the loss by death of Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge.

BULLETIN of The BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

BAKER LIBRARY, SOLDIERS FIELD, BOSTON, MASS.

Volume II, No. 3

MAY, 1928

Whole Number 13

An Old-Time Type of Merchant

N. S. B. GRAS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE recent accession of the Hancock papers to The Business Historical Society collection recalls a now forgotten type of merchant once prevailing in Europe and America. He was sometimes called the merchant prince; certainly he represents the highest class of business man from at least the thirteenth to the early nineteenth century. Sometimes he operated alone; sometimes with his brothers or cousins in the form of a family partnership.

Primarily he was a wholesaler, who imported and exported goods in considerable quantities. In the doing of this he might use super-cargoes, or rely on his agents abroad. The great Italian houses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, like the Fuggers of the sixteenth century, had their own agents in the chief commercial cities; while John Hancock, living in the eighteenth century, depended upon commission houses in London.

To the function of wholesaling, this merchant frequently added others which in the aggregate rivalled the chief one. He often had a retail store, and he loaned his surplus money where security and profits tempted him to do so. At times he lost, as did the Bardi and the Peruzzi when Edward III of England refused payment, thereby temporarily undermining the credit of all Florence. Moving on a little further into the banking business, the merchant would keep the cash of his customers and of others in his own strong box. In other words he received deposits, which he came to loan along with his own funds. For friends and customers he transferred

credit from place to place where he himself had credit. Occasionally he would join his fellows to underwrite the insurance on a ship going out to sea. Although his own ships were intended primarily to carry his own cargoes, he would sometimes rent out space to others. And his warehouse, when not fully needed for his own business, he would let others use. In these ways he was both a common carrier and a common warehouseman. Not infrequently he would take on the functions of an industrial entrepreneur, ordering ships to be built for him to be sold later, woollen cloth to be made from wool which he had purchased, and shoes from leather which he had. In this way he came to play an increasingly dominant part in the manufacturing of the time, introducing the elements of market demand, prompt supply, and labor exploitation.

As though all these were not enough, the old-time merchant often invested in lands. The Medici did so partly to extend their influence among their fellow citizens; the Fuggers for prestige and security. Robert Morris apparently thought only of the chance of gain which would come if he could own the lands which settlers would demand — all the way from New England to Georgia. But disturbances in Europe kept the settlers away and Morris went into bankruptcy. John Hancock also invested in lands — in New England — but underwent no such losses. It is a curious fact that Morris, an excellent business man, died poor; while Hancock, an inferior merchant, died with little less wealth than he had inherited from his uncle. Doubtless the explanation is that, in his preoccupation with politics, Hancock was forced to entrust his business to subordinates to whom little or no discretion would be given in affairs. Accordingly it was probably by fortuitous circumstances that Hancock was kept out of a speculative business which by disposition he would have gladly entered — to his ruin.

But the day of this class of non-specialized merchant was nearly over. The revolutions in industry and transportation made specialization necessary. Manufacturing, transportation, banking and retailing were each to require as much capital as he had put into them all. And the large sums of capital required could best be supplied not by individual business men or family partnerships but by joint-stock corporations.

East Indiamen and Clipper Ships

(THE GORDON DEXTER COLLECTION)

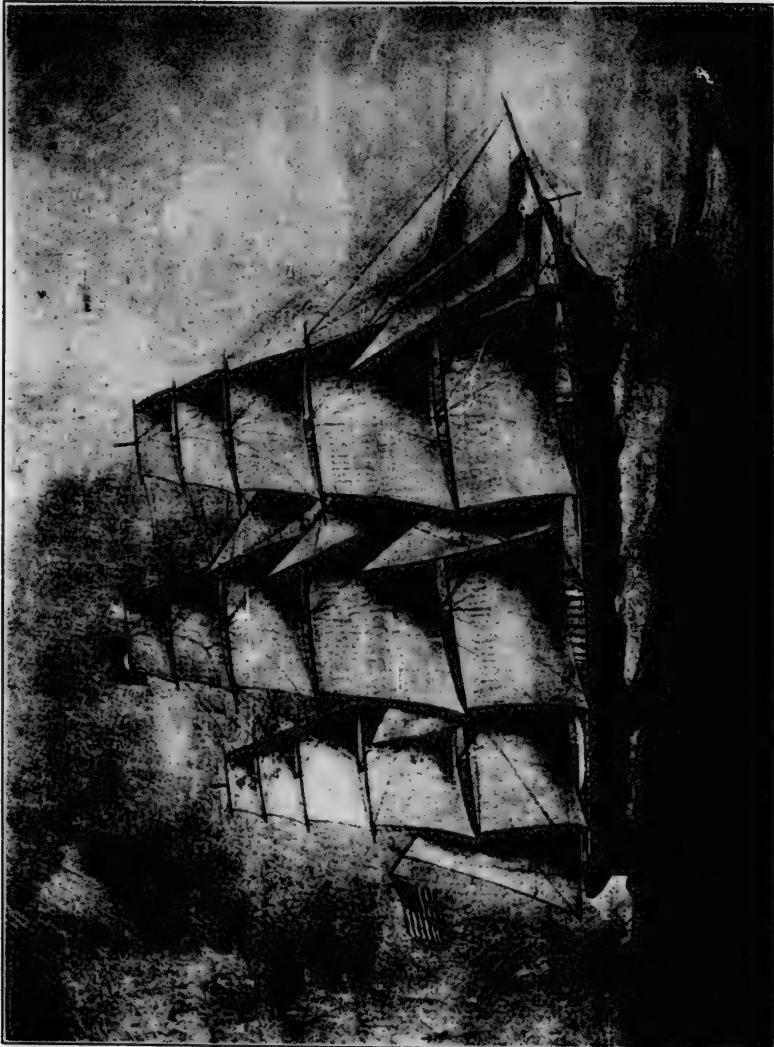
A COLLECTION of manuscripts, replete with details which rebuild the picture of foreign commerce in the 1840s and 1850s, has recently been given to The Business Historical Society by Mr. Gordon Dexter, whose father, an officer in most of the companies whose papers make up the collection, preserved the records which have so fully come down to us. It is chiefly composed of the cheques, bills, accounts, contracts and correspondence of William Appleton and Company, and the successor of that firm, Samuel Hooper and Company, merchant shipowners of the type described in the previous article. The story of their rise and fall, as disclosed in the papers, is also a day-to-day section of the history of American shipping from 1840 to 1878, at the height of its fame and prosperity, and in the time of its decline, and the rise of manufacturing to first place. The collection is doubly valuable in that it continues the story of the Israel Thorndike collection, described in the January Bulletin. Thorndike and Appleton were in like business, and their outside interests overlap. The Thorndike papers proper cease abruptly in May, 1809; these begin January, 1840: the former touch upon the Revolutionary War and the causes for the War of 1812; these, upon the Mexican War, Clipper ships, the hectic days of the Gold Rush, and end with the Civil War.

The Appleton Company had many ships, a few of them famous in Massachusetts maritime history. Others, not so famous perhaps, are nevertheless typical of the period. For example, there is an almost complete record of contracts and bills for the building of the "Oxnard" by Waterman and Elwell, Medford, — and "Medford built" connotes the highest standard of shipbuilding — in the '40s, the day of the sturdy East Indiaman. They furnish precise information regarding the size, equipment, and cost of ships at that time — eighty-five years ago. Although the "Oxnard" was not intended to carry passengers, there is a passenger list found among the 1847 papers. The cost of a voyage between Europe and this country ranged from \$60 to \$400 for accommodations far short of our present demands for comfort and luxury.

The following transcription, an extract from one of the letters of the collection, depicts the duties of a ship's Captain:

THE NABOB

The Appleton's ship, which won a blue ribbon for a record voyage to China. She was of the "medium clipper" type.
(Reproduced by permission of Charles E. Lauriat Company from "Old Sailing Ships of New England.")



"Our Ship Delhi is now ready for sea and we wish you to take charge of her and proceed to New Orleans, where you will consign her to Mess^r. Israel Whitney & Wm. A. Burnham and deliver to them the inclosed letter. The Ship is to be loaded at New Orleans with a cargo of Lead & Cotton for China, . . . You will proceed from New Orleans to Canton, where the Ship & cargo will be consigned to Mess^r Russell & co whose instructions you will afterwards follow. . . . It will be very important to make all possible dispatch at New Orleans and we hope you will not be detained there more than 10 days — in that case you will have time to go up the China Sea before the change of the Monsoon.

The Ship is well provided with most articles necessary for the voyage. There are 5000^{lbs} of Bread packed in tight casks which is intended for the homeward voyage from China — you will purchase 3000 lbs at New Orleans for the outward passage which may be packed in the usual way in barrels. The water cask should be examined & the hoops driven before the water is filled. The Compasses should also be examined. Fuel is to be provided sufficient for a year's voyage for which you can take Wood or Coal as you think best. For live stock you will want 8 to 10 Pigs and 2 Doz. Fowls with 10 Bushels of corn for feed. You will probably find our Ship Charlotte at New Orleans and we trust you & Capt^r Gerry will be disposed to assist each other in any way that will promote the interest of the owners of your Ships — but in making any exchanges of articles . . . you must remember that the ownership is different & settle for them as you would with strangers. . . .

As it is the first time you have been master of a Ship, we wish to enjoin upon you the importance of economy in the care of your ship at Sea as well as in Port — we wish her to be provided with every thing necessary for Safety & comfort — but do not wish you to go to any expence for mere show. The Ship should be Kept in good order at all times — this is done by attention with little expence, and in the opinion of those whose judgement would be valuable reflects more credit on yourself & your officers than any expensive ornamenting or display. It is necessary to use every exertion to make dispatch in port and at sea — good passages are often important to the interest of the voyage and increase your reputation as a Ship master. In cases of difficulty from intricate navigation or any other danger, Safety is most important and every thing should give place to prudence, any time lost can be made up as far as possible by exertions where you are safe from dangers.

For your Services as Master of the Ship you are to have \$75 per month & not exceeding five tons priviledge to be filled with your own goods. We shall feel anxious to hear of you[r] departure from New Orleans as a day saved may make the difference of a month in your passage from Java to China, and we trust you will spare no exertions to get away from New Orleans as Speedily as possible. Wishing you a Safe & pleasant voyage & hoping to hear from you whenever opportunities offer to write. We are,

Your friends & Employer
W^m. Appleton & C^o

P. S. Those of your crew who have had but part of a months pay advanced here can receive a month in New Orleans if you can trust them with it & all of them one months pay in China. The first & Second Officer[s] in addition & their 2 months advance have a half pay order."

The chief business of the companies was buying hides from the Californian and Mexican coast, and rice and teas from China; for these they exchanged a wide variety of cotton goods, and household furniture and hardware. Occasionally they carried coal, luxuries for the gay Californians and Mexicans, and even piece-cut lumber and metal for dwellings and warehouses. Nearly all the Appleton vessels took this course; only one or two of the vessels took other routes, or carried other cargoes. A good deal of trade was carried on with New Orleans; and there is an account of the shipwreck of the "Hamlet," in January, 1845, enroute from Rio de Janeiro with a cargo of coffee. But for the most part, the ships were built and the voyages were planned, for the Californian coast trade and Chinese ports.

The "Admittance" and the "Barnstable" made California ports repeatedly for hides, just as narrated in Dana's "Two Years before the Mast," and, as narrated in that book, a third vessel, usually a barque, was kept out there for coast-wise trade, while the two larger ships plied back and forth from the home port. One of these barques was the "Tasso." One of her crew threatened the Appleton Company with a law-suit. R. H. Dana was retained as the Company's attorney. When the facts were sifted, the case was found to amount to very little, for it was disclosed that the sailor had deserted on the California coast, in the general rush for the gold mines, and by common custom was entitled to his wages only if he fulfilled his contract with his ship. The company really dealt quite gener-

ously with him, settling for nearly the full amount of wages for the period he had served, disregarding his broken contract.

Competition for hides was keen, but for three years there was a distressing drouth on the coast of California; before nature had stabilized that condition, and restored trade to the shippers, the Mexican War was on. Again, trade had not regained its former prosperity, when the restlessness caused by the discovery of gold completely demoralized coast trade and shipping. It began in '47, and by 1849-'50, the old, reliable type of sailor, amenable to discipline was almost impossible to find. Sea captains were at their wit's end to get a crew to make a full trip.

A letter from Samuel Hooper about 1849 indicated that he went down to Cape Cod hoping to find among the ancient sailors "with salt in their blood," a crew upon which the company could depend for a complete trip. After the news of the gold rush had fevered the East, sailors would ship for a voyage and desert at the first port on the California coast. One youth wrote his young wife, reassuring her that he was coming back with the ship as he had promised and remarked that he supposed she would rather have him keep his word honorably than desert the ship and come back *wealthy!*

Nevertheless, the competition of trade had to be met, and the advent of the steamer meant quicker coast-wise service. For the long trips around the Horn and over to China, the Clipper was racing before the wind. "A *clipper ship*," says Samuel Eliot Morison, in his "Maritime History of Massachusetts," "was built and rigged with a view to speed, rather than carrying capacity or economy. Although larger, in general, than the older sailing vessels, it was the model and the rig of clipper ships that made them such, not their size. They were sharper in the ends, longer in proportion to their breadth, and more heavily sparr'd than the full-bodied, bluff-bowed ships of previous, and even later generations. For the clipper ship came all at once, and fled as quickly as she came. There had been clipper schooners and clipper brigs since 1812, the term "clipper" connoting speed and smartness; but only six or eight clipper ships had been built before 1850. . . ."

Against these ships, built to cut the waves and carry sail, raced the better of the older generation of vessels, the skill of whose mariners was challenged to the utmost. The "Nabob," under Captain Baxter, was given a blue ribbon for making the trip to China in the fastest record time of any vessel but a clipper ship (July, 1857). A letter in the collection, written to her owners, is full of the pride of

her master. In December, 1862, she was lost off the Philippine Islands in a long, severe storm.

Possibly the most famous ship belonging to this company was the "Living Age," a full clipper ship. She was owned by them only three or four years when she was lost off the Pratas Shoals; although short-lived, she was well enough known to be included in the collection of pictures, "Old Sailing Ships of New England," published by the Lauriat Company, Boston. We have the account of her loss, in brief, matter-of-fact style which presents a vivid picture without the aid of any flourishes of conscious literary style:

"Gentlemen I have the painful duty to inform you of the Total loss of the good Ship Living Age with all her cargo on Pratas Shoal the 1st day of Jan. . . . We left Shanghae on the 27th of Dec. . . . the weather dark and rainy with strong increasing breezes . . . Saw neither Sun Moon or Stars, from the time of leaving until the 3^d of Jan three days after the Ship struck. It then cleared up for a short time and we saw Pratas Is. about 2 miles distant. . . . At 4 A.M. on the 1st of Jan the position of the Ship was in the Lat of the Pratas Shoal 25 miles west of them according to my Judgment At 5 A.M. the Ship going 10½ miles pr hour struck with Tremendous violence on the Reef. It was so dark at the time could not see the Breakers the length of the Ship. The Rudder was instantly unshipped tearing the tiller down through the poop A few seas soon stove in the stearn. The Ship fell over in the Larb'd side. The boats were all washed overboard before daylight. As soon as daylight came found the only chance to save our lives was to lighten the Ship forward and force her farther up on the Reef as she was breaking up fast aft. Commenced throwing overboard everything forward from the deck Anchors chains &c cut the Fore rigging the Fore mast fell over which lightened the ship the heavy seas striking aft forced the bow in 9 ft. water Built boat of the bulwarks a Raft of Spars and planks On the 7th of Jan more moderate launched the Boat the Mate and nine men Jumped in pushed through the breakers landed on the Island the same day. . . . They found the Island barren and uninhabited with a well of brackish water on it. We loaded the Raft and Boat with provisions which they got safe to the Island. . . . On the 5th of Feb. an English Bark the Tom Bowlin was cast away about 9 miles distant from the Living Age The Crew was seen to sail away in their long boat the next day. They reached a small Island near Hong Kong where they were attacked by pirates the Capt was seen murdered only two of their number escaped to tell the tale.

A Small Chinese boat drifted on to the Is. we fitted her up the best we could the Mate with four men set sail for Hong Kong on the 15th of Feb which they safely reached on the 17th Her Majestys Steamer was immediately dispatched for us and to look after the Bowlines crew previously a ship passing the Island saw a wreck and people on the Island making Signals of distress in running in she sprung a leak and was obliged to bear up for Manila. On the arrival of the Ship the Capt reported seeing people on the Island. Capt. Munroe of the P & O co; Steamer Shanghae being there and bound to Hong Kong Kindly touched at the Island and took us all on board the 19th of Feb, before getting on board another steamer hove in sight which proved to be the Man of War Steamer sent from Hong Kong. We were treated by Capt Munroe and his Officers with every Kindness in aiding us to get on board from the Island and during our stay on board of the Steamer for which he has the heartfelt gratitude of all our people. We arrived safely at Hong Kong on the 20th Feb Fifty one days after the loss of the Ship.

When I left the Living Age the Tea was washed out as far as the Mizen Mast the Decks started up and open fore & aft. The Tea wet and spoiled as far as I could ascertain. There were five wrecks in sight from the Living Age. The Island is strewed with pieces of wrecks from one end to the other no doubt many missing vessels have been lost there. . . .

Trusting I may soon see you
I remain your most Obd't Servant"

R. P. Holmes.

Later, the Appleton Company petitioned Secretary of State Marcy to honor Captain Munroe of the rescuing steamer for bravery. Captain Holmes died of tuberculosis, as a result of the exposure.

These letters deal with only one side of the story which the papers present, perhaps the most romantic side, although that may be open to question. In the firms with which these merchants were connected the reasons appear for the general decline of shipping, and the diversion of capital to interior channels, — lands, railroads and manufactures. And the personalities of the men whose enterprise directed these firms lead us to at least one biography of national importance. The Dexter collection, taken with the Thorndike papers, as was suggested in the beginning of this story, gives a very representative picture — and undoubtedly an authentic one — of the development of one phase of American commerce.



THE BOSTON EXCHANGE COFFEE HOUSE

This pretentious edifice was built in 1808 for the unprecedented sum of half a million dollars, as a sort of merchants' exchange. The original purpose was never carried out, but as a social meeting place for shipowners, and as a center for the distributing of marine news, it became one of the institutions of maritime Boston.

Business and the Coffee House

An old ledger, which has come to the Society, belonging to the proprietor of the Boston Exchange Coffee House, recalls the part once played by taverns in social and commercial life. As the Mermaid Tavern was the meeting place of Shakespeare's circle, and the St. James Coffee House the convivial headquarters of the Whigs in the time of Queen Anne, the Exchange Coffee House was a rendezvous of the leaders of maritime Boston in the early part of the nineteenth century. The names over accounts in the ledger of John Jones, the proprietor, show that the patronage included statesmen like Daniel Webster, professional men like Garrison Gray Otis, and military men like General William H. Sumner, but the characteristic features of the house centered around shipping and merchant-ship-owners, as did the activities of all New England. The leading merchants of the day, like Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Israel Thordike, and William Sturgis and John Bryant of the Northwest fur trade, seem to have enjoyed the vintages from Mr. Jones' bar.

In fact, the original purpose in building the Coffee House was to provide appropriate facilities for the "genial institution of 'Change.'" This was a time-honored custom of the merchants to meet on the sidewalk of State Street at about one o'clock as they left their counting-rooms, and talk "shop, ships and politics" for half an hour or so. The whole first story of the ambitious new Coffee House was devoted to a great Exchange Floor, but this probably saw little business, for according to the contemporary account of Caleb Snow, the merchants preferred to follow in the way of their fathers, and meet more informally on State Street, "even in the inclement winter months."

But the tavern achieved a place in the commercial scheme of things in a number of other ways. No expense had been spared to provide every convenience for the merchants. The seven-story pile was surmounted by a dome which a periodical of the day describes as "elegant and spacious, . . . 100 feet 10 inches in circumference, the base protected by a handsome railing, within which is a seat and box, containing a perspective glass, used daily to ascertain the shipping entering the harbor."

Samuel Topliff's first News Room was located in the Exchange Coffee House, and in that way the tavern became for a time a unique commercial institution in Boston. The room was established by

Samuel Gilbert, shortly after the house was built, in 1808, but was soon taken over by Topliff, who may be called the forerunner of an associated press. It was through his correspondents that most of the foreign news was distributed to the Boston papers. He was the first to hear of a ship as she came within sight of the "telegraph" station in Boston harbor, and one of his rowboats collected the first news of foreign ports from the in-coming vessel.

This marine "telegraph" was an ingenious arrangement of semaphores, which had been used for signalling the approach of vessels from hill to hill, since the year eighteen hundred. A series of stations along the coast from Edgartown to Hull told Boston and Salem of the approach of vessels as soon as they entered Vineyard Haven.* Samuel Topliff's establishment erected one of these semaphores on Long Island, in Boston Harbor, which communicated with his house on Fort Hill. It consisted of a staff, ninety-two feet high, with black painted balls, six feet in diameter suspended from a yard thirty feet long. The "telegraph" was not installed until after the departure of the News Room for Merchants' Hall, but Topliff's old quarters were taken up by a rival, and the Coffee House continued to be a center of marine information until 1842, when the two reading rooms were united under a new management.

In these news rooms could be had the principal American papers, and foreign papers and price lists. Besides these, seven books were kept, in which current news, especially the sort that would be of interest to merchants; arrivals, in Boston and other ports; and clearances, were daily recorded. A merchant, writing a eulogy on Topliff's Reading Room at the time of its closing, is quoted as saying that it had become as much identified with the merchants of Boston as State Street itself.†

Local journalists boasted that no other part of the country could show anything like the luxurious and tasteful Coffee Room, with its scarlet hangings and mahogany. Here merchant-shipowners met casually. And as Garraway's in London, which was celebrated as the haunt of "people of quality, who have business in the City, and the most considerable and wealthy citizens," was the scene of important mercantile transactions, the Coffee Room at the Exchange undoubtedly saw a great deal of business settled over the coffee cups or wine glasses.

* Samuel Eliot Morison, "Maritime History of Massachusetts."

† Ethel Stanwood Bolton, "Topliff's Travels."

In the magnificent arched ball-room, converted for the occasion into a banqueting hall, Hull and Bainbridge were feted after their brilliant naval exploits in the War of 1812, Federalist Boston forgetting, in the victories of her beloved "Constitution," that the war was the iniquitous doing of Jefferson and his Jacobins, foisted upon the country for the express purpose of ruining New England commerce. The same room, gay with mirrors and chandeliers, and rich yellow and purple draperies, was the scene of the banquet celebrating the longed-for news of peace, the end of embargoes, and the comparative freedom of the seas for Massachusetts ships.

A considerable part of the building was let to various private concerns. Of these, Topliff's Merchants' Reading Room, which has been described earlier, was the most profitable for the tavern, for it made the practice of dropping in at the Exchange Coffee House a habit with the merchants. Other companies which were housed there included a bank which is now one of the prominent financial institutions of Boston, several insurance and brokerage firms, a fashionable tailor, a number of grocers, and a lottery office. Apropos of the last establishment, the same writer whose description of the dome is quoted above, remarks that the proprietors, after distributing so many prizes to individuals, seem to have drawn a blank themselves, having been jilted by the Goddess of Chance just as they were about to place her shrine in a roomier temple. The Coffee House was a losing venture from the beginning. It was built on too large a scale for the needs of its day. But though it was not itself a financial success, it held an important commercial rôle through Topliff's News Room and its successor, and the informal comings and goings of merchants, and saw the social reflection of one of the most eventful chapters in American commercial history.

History in the Making

ON April 10, 1928, the first complete periodical ever sent over the telephone wires was issued by a Cambridge firm. A single printed master copy was sent to the New York office of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and transmitted by telephotography to a Boston printer. A few hours later, the April issue of the "Industrial Bulletin of Arthur D. Little, Inc." was distributed from Boston. Does this perchance foreshadow the publication of a national or international morning journal?

I must beg of you to make me a
suit of Uniforms, conformatable to the following direction.

A Scarlet Coat with Scarlet Lapels & Collar, & a narrow
Cuff with 3 (or 4) buttons on it; with a handsome Gold
Epaulette on the right Shoulder. I leave it to you whether
there ought to be Button-holes behind the Coat —
but let the Collar, button with the upper button of the
Lapel, as thou.



A White Cloth waistcoat & breeches
The Buttons to be double gilt. Flat, & of the thickness
of a Crown piece, such as I have seen on many
Uniforms, with a laurel round the rim, that.



SPECIFICATIONS FOR A BRITISH OFFICER'S UNIFORM IN 1770

Uniforms in the eighteenth century seem to have been allowed some variation to suit the individual taste. The placing of the coat buttons is left to the discretion of the tailor, in this case, while the future wearer has designed the pattern for them himself.

Secretary's Column

AMONG the various items of historical interest received during the past few weeks the Secretary takes pleasure in acknowledging the following:

From the Federation of British Industries. Several packages of periodicals and foreign documents relating to the Consular Reports and Reports of the Boards of Trade of Russia and the Scandinavian countries of pre-war and post-war conditions.

From the Estate of Professor James Mavor, University of Toronto. A notable library of books and pamphlets on Economics comprising about 10,000 items.

From the heirs of the Estate of George C. Dempsey, Boston. A collection of books and pamphlets on the manufacture of wines and spirituous liquors, and on the moral and political aspects of prohibition, formed by a noted collector.

From Arnold B. Chace, Chancellor, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Record books of the activities of Chace and Luther, textile manufacturers in 1824.

From an officer of the Society. Miscellaneous records, account books, pamphlets, etc., on various subjects.

From Miss Elsie Rackstraw, Librarian, Federal Reserve Board, Washington, D. C. Reports and foreign documents relating to the proceedings of the Economic and Financial Sections of the League of Nations and the World Economic Conference.

From Robert J. Clark, Boston. Lease of Central Wharf, 1845 to 1850.

From C. F. Van Benthuyzen, Albany, New York. Account books, 1812 to 1825.

From Herbert G. Porter, Smith and Porter Press, Boston. Chambers Encyclopedia, complete, 1826 edition; 100 copper plates of mechanical devices; account book of general store, 1816.

From Robert L. Smitley, New York. Miscellaneous books relating to tea and coffee; Philadelphia Repository and Weekly Register, 1801 to 1802; 17 volumes of Cassier's Magazine.

From I. F. Woodbury & Sons Company, Boston. U. S. Reports of Mechanical Tests.

From Aberthaw Construction Company, Boston. Cost sheets of construction work, 1900 to 1914; specifications and plans of unusual construction work.

Symington's Olde Booke Shoppe, London, England. Manuscript letter book, cotton and woollen trade, 1802; scrap book of trade cards.

The General Membership of the Society now numbers two hundred and sixty-three. The following names have been added to this membership:

Frank B. Bemis, Trustee, Boston.
John W. Higgins, President, Worcester Pressed Steel Company, Worcester, Massachusetts.
John W. Farwell, Treasurer, Farwell Bleachery, Boston.
Dr. Frank A. Fall, Director of Research, National Association of Credit Men, New York City.
Henry W. Beal, Attorney, Boston.
Ledyard Coggswell, Jr., President, New York State National Bank, Albany, New York.
Neal Rantoul, of F. S. Moseley and Company, Boston.
Roland W. Boyden, of Ropes, Gray, Boyden and Perkins, Boston.
Walter N. Rothschild, of Abraham and Straus, Inc., Brooklyn, New York.
Felix Fuld, of L. Bamberger and Company, Newark, New Jersey.
David Sarnoff, Vice-President, Radio Corporation of America, New York City.
Charles O. Richardson, of Wellington Sears and Company, Boston.
E. W. Evans, Jr., Oil City, Pennsylvania.
A. Lincoln Filene, Vice-President, William Filene's Sons Company, Boston.
Walter G. Resor, Vice-President, J. Walter Thompson Company, Boston.
J. G. White, President, J. G. White Company, New York City.
Walter S. Gifford, President, American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York City.

The Affiliated Membership now numbers fifty-six members, there having been four new members added since the last report as follows:

U. Waldo Cutler, Director, Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Dr. George W. Edwards, Dean, School of Business and Civic Administration, College of the City of New York, New York City.
Blanche L. Davenport, Librarian, Christian Science Monitor, Boston.
Mrs. Charles S. Heard, Secretary, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Soldiers Field, Boston.

BULLETIN of The BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

BAKER LIBRARY, SOLDIERS FIELD, BOSTON, MASS.

Volume II, No. 4

JUNE, 1928

Whole Number 14

Saint Malo and the Trade of Brittany

AMONG the collection of prints on economic and business subjects belonging to the Harvard Business School are two of the old French port of Saint Malo. A fine engraving of a map of the same town has recently come to the School from the noted French scholar, Léon Vignols, together with other interesting prints on such subjects. This map which, with one of the prints of Saint Malo, is reproduced in this issue, probably dates from the early seventeenth century, when the port was at the height of its prosperity and renown. The importance of Saint Malo is not entirely a thing of the past, for the old town is the headquarters of the French fishing fleet from St. Pierre and Miquelon.

Professor Henri Sée, who is known as the author of many works on economic history, has generously contributed the following article on the ship-owners of Saint Malo. Professor Sée served as Professor of Modern History at the University of Rennes from 1893 until his retirement in 1920. Immediately upon taking up residence at Rennes he began extensive researches, the finest fruits of which are only now being published, and of which the essay we are privileged to print is an excellent illustration.

Above all, Professor Sée is the economic historian of Brittany. But since his retirement he has brought out, in rapid succession, a most remarkable series of works on general economic history. His *Modern Capitalism; Its Origins and Evolution* has just been translated by two members of the Society, Professors Vanderblue and Doriot of the Harvard Business School.



[2]

SAINT MALO IN THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

At the time when this map was made, the ships of the picturesque old walled city of Brittany were known from the Mediterranean to the South Seas.

The Ship-owners of Saint Malo in the Eighteenth Century¹

HENRI SÉE

WHEN to-day the visitor to one of the fairest countrysides in the world sees Saint Malo rise proudly from its rocky islet, surrounded by ancient walls, like a vessel about to put out to sea, he finds it difficult to imagine that this port once played a great part in the commercial and maritime history of France. Nowadays a great port must be situated at the mouth of a great river or it must serve as outlet for a rich agricultural and industrial region. It must be capable of accommodating ships of large tonnage. Saint Malo fulfills none of these conditions. But, until the nineteenth century, when boats, even those engaged in making voyages to distant parts of the world, were of very slight tonnage, (generally from 200 to 400 tons), conditions were different. Saint Malo was a busy port with an active commercial life. The development of a commission and carrying trade rendered an important and fruitful hinterland less necessary then than now; and in troublous times the security afforded by a strong military situation was much appreciated.

The site of Saint Malo early attracted sailors and merchants, therefore, not alone from Brittany but from the neighboring region of Normandy, as well. As early as the Middle Ages, when Brittany formed practically an independent State, the sailors and ship-owners of Saint Malo had already achieved fame. Fishing was one of their great activities, especially fishing for cod in distant seas. They were accustomed to venture afar; and one of their captains, Jacques Cartier, was the founder of Canada.

Beginning with the sixteenth century, the manufacture of linen developed in Brittany, and an important export trade grew up, notably with Cadiz in Spain and thence with Spanish America. In this trade Saint Malo, with Morlaix, soon occupied an important place.

The wars of the period of Louis XIV were by no means solely dynastic wars, and the commercial rivalry of the different nations

¹ We are indebted to Miss Alice M. Belcher of the staff of the Harvard Economic Society for this translation.

of Europe had already come into play.¹ In the very frequent war periods, when commerce was threatened with interruption, the Saint Malo ship-owners engaged in fitting out privateers and raiding the enemy fleets. The English learned to dread the privateers of Saint Malo. During the War of the Spanish Succession, when the two crowns of France and Spain were allied, the French ship-owners, and especially those of Saint Malo, were able to profit by this arrangement to carry on a direct trade with Spanish America, a trade which legally could be maintained only through Cadiz. The Dutch and the English had long carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies; but the sailors and traders of Saint Malo proved still more daring in their operations. They made for the coasts of the Pacific, carrying there the linens of Brittany, the silk goods of Lyons and Touraine, laces from Pe Puy, and cloths, smallwares, cutlery, etc. As early as 1698, a rich ship-owner of Saint Malo, Danycan de l'Epine, had founded the *Compagnie de la mer du Sud* (South Sea Company) to carry on this trade; and in 1706 three of his vessels made a profit of 350 per cent. This success led other ship-owners from the same port to follow his example. At the same time, two boats, the *Sage Salomon* and the *Saint Francois* brought over six million *livres* of treasure from Peru. In the space of three years (1706-1709) these adventurers from Saint Malo brought back over 200 million *livres* — an enormous sum for the period — as the proceeds of their voyages to the South Sea. A part of these sums served to replenish the royal treasury, which was in sore need of such replenishment at that moment.

To undertake these long and perilous voyages, under very unsanitary conditions, in small boats (the tonnage seldom exceeding 300 tons), to round the tip of South America, and to follow the coasts of the Pacific was no task for weaklings. It called for a hardy endurance in these Malouin captains and sailors! Success in this trade also called for a great deal of commercial skill, and oftentimes for a disregard of scruples. But these captains and sailors also achieved more than commercial success: for they discovered new lands and proudly bore the French flag into distant seas.²

¹ See G. N. Clark, *The Anglo-Dutch Alliance and the War against French Trade*, Manchester, 1923.

² See E. W. Dahlgren, *Les relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'Océan Pacifique*, Paris, 1909, and *Voyages Français à destination des mers du Sud, 1695-1749* (*Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques*, Vol. 14, 1907). Cf. the very interesting study by Léon Vignols, *Le commerce interlope dans les mers du Sud* (*Revue d'histoire économique*, 1925); et Dupont, *L'abbé Noël Jouin*, Paris, 1927.

The Treaty of Utrecht, of 1714, dealt this traffic a serious blow, however: while the king of Spain, Philip V, professed to maintain the monopoly of Cadiz in the Spanish American trade, he in fact accorded the privileges of both the *asiento* and the *vaisseau de permission* to England. England therefore was, in reality, put in a strong position to carry on the contraband trade — the *commerce interlope* — in South America. The Malouin ship-owners were able to continue their commercial enterprises in America on a smaller scale; but, beginning with 1724, they gradually withdrew from that trade.¹

Thenceforth, and until the end of the *Ancien Régime*, the Malouin ship-owners had resort to the Cadiz route, and they took their merchandise destined for Spanish America to that port. Indeed this was their principal business.

It has been my good fortune to examine the papers of one of the great ship-owning families of Saint Malo, the Magon family, and especially their commercial correspondence; in it I have found their transactions pictured to the smallest detail in a definite and vivid manner.²

Magon de la Balue, and then his son, Magon de la Blinaye, carried on a commission trade in linens for the most part, especially a trade in the linens of Brittany, which were made around Nantes and Quintin (now in the department of Côtes-du-Nord) and in the Léon district near Morlaix.³ They also dealt in Normandy linens (*rouens*) and in those of Laval, and bought silk goods, laces, beaver hats, etc., for transportation to the new world by the Cadiz route.

At Cadiz, these goods were loaded on fleets and galleons bound for Spanish America, in the custody of commission agents of Spanish nationality. This trade often brought in fine profits, but on long terms, and the returns were slow. Thus this was a form of traffic which could be undertaken only by the possessor of a considerable

¹ See Georges Scelle, *Histoire politique de la traité négrière aux Indes de Castille*, Paris, 1906 (law thesis); L. Vignols and H. Sée, *La fin du commerce interlope dans l'Amérique espagnole* (*Revue d'histoire économique*, 1925); André Lesort, *Les transactions d'un négociant malouin avec l'Amérique espagnole* (*Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, 1921, pp. 239-268).

² See, for example, my *Le commerce de Saint-Malo au 18^e siècle, d'après les papiers des Magon* (in the *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire du commerce et de l'industrie*, published by Julien Hayem, 9th series, 1925).

³ On this industry, see F. Bourdais and René Durand, *L'industrie et le commerce de la toile en Bretagne au 18^e siècle* (*Comité des travaux historiques, section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 1922).

capital, like the Magons; and even the latter associated themselves with fairly numerous silent partners, drawn from the class of merchants and men of business, from the class of financiers, or from the military or judiciary nobility (*noblesse d'épée* or *de robe*). Thus these trading operations were carried on as veritable capitalist enterprises.

The Magons undertook still other business, furthermore, notably the trade with the French Antilles, where also they sold linens and took part in the slave trade. The merchandise imported from the Antilles was sold less frequently at Saint Malo itself, which had too few outlets, than at Marseilles and abroad, notably at Amsterdam. On the other hand, the trade relations with England were hampered by the very high customs duties, and so were much less important. Cod fishing, on the contrary, continued to be one of the great resources of the ship-owners of Saint Malo.

The decadence of the port of Saint Malo was apparent as early as the first half of the eighteenth century, and continued at an increasing rate in the second half of the century. Its causes stand out fairly clearly; the city had no means of close communication with the rest of France by river or canal; and in the vicinity there was only a single important city, Rennes, and merchandise could be transported to Rennes only by land, and necessarily at great expense. Moreover, Saint Malo possessed no very rich agricultural hinterland, and no important industry outside the manufacture of linen. Ports like Nantes and Bordeaux, at the mouths of great rivers and serving as outlet for prosperous regions, therefore tended to develop rapidly and to eclipse Saint Malo.¹ The maritime wars, often long-drawn-out, especially from 1740 to 1763, also handicapped the trade of the Malouin ship-owners.

This decadence must not be exaggerated, however; for on the eve of the Revolution there were still numerous ship-owners at Saint Malo. These carried on the Cadiz trade, participated in the trade with the Antilles, and undertook cod fishing. As for the northern merchandise, it was by then almost wholly transported in Dutch and Scandinavian vessels.

The documents disclose that the commerce of the Magons was not interrupted by the great revolutionary crisis, at least up to 1792. After a period of slackness and hesitation in 1789, we find

¹ See H. Séé, *L'évolution commerciale et industrielle de la France sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, 1925.

that the transactions with Spain were resumed very actively. Indeed this trade was stimulated by the inflation, accompanying the progressive depreciation of the *assignats*. Cadiz no longer possessed the absolute monopoly of the Spanish trade with the American colonies; and the house of Magon sold its linens (to which its trade had been reduced) in many Spanish ports. But, after August 10, 1792, certain shipowners were suspected of royalism, and their trade was necessarily interrupted. Magon, although an octogenarian, perished on the scaffold. Thereafter came the war with England, which began in 1793 and continued almost uninterruptedly until 1815. This completed the ruin of the Saint Malo trade, and, by repercussion, the linen industry of Brittany and Laval. During this long period, the shipowners of Saint Malo had no resource but to arm their ships for privateering. The Malouin privateers, like Surcouf, became illustrious by their exploits; but privateering appears to have been only fairly lucrative as a business enterprise.¹

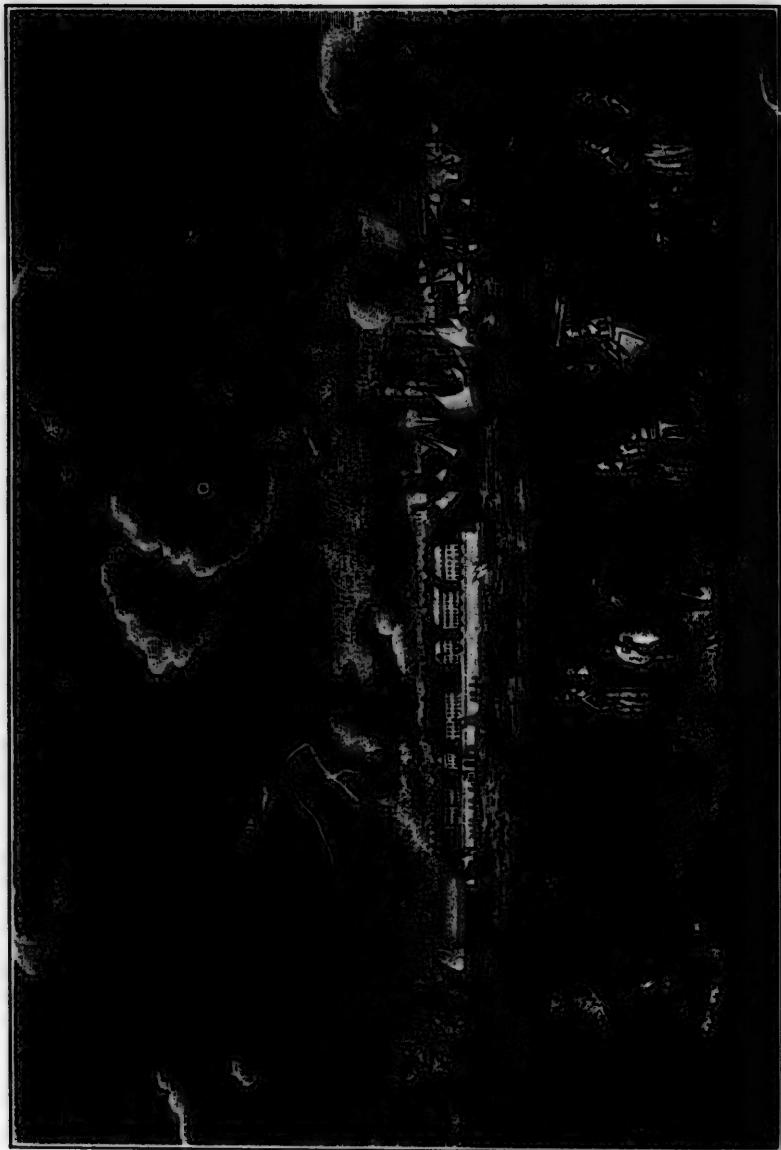
The tax bills, and notably those of the *capitation* tax, show very clearly how the ship-owning class dominated the economic activity of Saint Malo in the eighteenth century.² About forty such can be counted, who enjoyed a very important station by reason of their fortunes. Most of them had *capitation* quotas of over 50 *livres*. On the eve of the Revolution, the richest group included the Magon's, Robert de la Mennais, Quentin, and Blaize de Maisonneuve, and these had gathered about them a whole world of ship captains, navigating officers, brokers, and clerks. The ship-owners also played the principal part in the municipal administration of Saint Malo.³

The ship-owning families who had retired from business, and who then lived *nobly* — that is to say, on their incomes, no longer carrying on any work — were numerous at Saint Malo in those days. A fairly large number of them entered into the ranks of the nobility. As early as the seventeenth century, many Malouin men of affairs had bought estates, not only in the environs of the city, where they

¹ See Abbé Robidon, *Les derniers corsaires malouins*, Rennes, 1919 (University of Rennes thesis); Léon Vignols, *La course maritime* (*Revue d'histoire économique*, 1927).

² H. Sée, *La vie économique et les classes sociales à Saint-Malo au 18^e siècle, d'après les rôles de la capitation* (*Mémoires et documents*, of Julien Hayem, 9th series, 1925).

³ See H. Sée and A. Lesort, *Cahiers de la sénéchaussée de Rennes*, Vol. III, p. 1, *et seq.*



A WATERFRONT VIEW

After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1714, which gave to England the advantage in the contraband trade with the Spanish Colonies, the prosperity of Saint Malo began to wane. On the eve of the Revolution, however, the port was still carrying on trade with Cadiz and the Antilles, and its cod fishing. This picture presumably represents Saint Malo at about that period.

had charming country houses or chateaux (like that of Chateaubriand's father, at Combourg), but in all Brittany. The Magons, the Danycans, the Baudes, for example, bought considerable seigniories, even in Lower-Brittany.¹ And to-day, when one visits the picturesque city of Saint Malo, he finds the ancient splendor of the port inscribed in its fine freestone houses, built by the ship-owners.

Another fact which shows the quantity of capital which accumulated in the hands of the Malouin ship-owners is that one of the most notable of them — Danycan, obtained the cession of the mines of Brittany. His son and his widow even formed a company for the exploitation of the silverlead mine of Pontpéan, an enterprise which was not very successful at the beginning, however.²

Among these men of trade, also, were many intelligent, educated men, of firm character. In their descendants, at times, these qualities of energy and initiative were transmuted into literary genius. Chateaubriand and Lamennais were both sons of ship-owners. And, in general, Saint Malo has counted, among its children, more distinguished men than many more populous cities. It was a vigorous and energetic race that grew on the rocky islet of the old city of Aleth.³

Second Annual Meeting of the Business Historical Society

THE second annual meeting of The Business Historical Society, Inc., was held at the George F. Baker Library on Friday, the first of June. Charles H. Taylor, the president, in submitting his annual report, spoke of the material progress made during the year, both in the acquisition of valuable historical material and in membership. During the year there had been an addition of 78 general members, making the total membership at this time 265 general members and 57 affiliated members. The cash balance as of June 1 was \$10,002.20.

¹ See Bourde de la Rogerie, *Introduction à l'Inventaire de la série B des archives du Finistère*, p. 169. Pincou du Sel des Monts writes, in 1756 (*Considérations sur le commerce de Bretagne*, p. 14) "In ten years the negotiants of Saint Malo have bought lands amounting to at least ten millions."

² See H. Sée, *Les origines de la société minière de Pontpéan (Mémoires de la Société d'histoire de Bretagne, 1925)*.

³ Aleth was the primitive name of Saint Malo.

The names of the members of the Society who have died during the past year, read by Frank C. Ayres, executive secretary, were as follows: S. Davies Warfield, president of the Seaboard Air Line; George C. Dempsey of Boston; Judge Elbert H. Gary of the United States Steel Corporation; Irwin Kirkwood, publisher of the Kansas City Star; Hon. William C. Sproul, former governor of Pennsylvania; Edward A. Woods of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of Pittsburgh; Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge of Harvard University; and Hon. Charles G. Washburn of Worcester. As a tribute to their memory the members arose and stood for a moment in silence.

The officers elected were: Charles H. Taylor of The Boston Globe as President; Vice-Presidents, Charles Copeland of E. I. Dupont de Nemours Company, Wilmington, Delaware; Frederic H. Curtiss of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston; Goldthwait H. Dorr of New York; John Omwake of the United States Playing Card Company of Cincinnati; Charles H. Schweppe of Lee, Higginson and Company of Chicago. Edward H. Redstone of the State Library, Boston, and Allan Forbes of the State Street Trust Company, Boston, were elected as Clerk and treasurer, respectively.

Councilors were elected as follows: E. W. Beattie, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, Montreal; John Stewart Bryan, Publisher of the Richmond Times Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia; William Butler of the Fisher Body Corporation, Detroit; Dr. W. J. Calvert, Dallas, Texas; Gordon Dexter, Boston; Benjamin H. Dibblee of E. H. Rollins and Sons, San Francisco; Charles H. Dupuis of the Central Trust Company, Cincinnati; James A. Farrell of the U. S. Steel Corporation, New York; Charles Hayden, of Hayden, Stone and Company, New York; Hon. Will H. Hays of the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors of America, New York; Matt B. Jones of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, Boston; J. B. Shea of Joseph Horne Company, Pittsburgh; Harry R. Sinclair of Worcester Stamped Metal Company, Worcester; Eugene M. Stevens of the Illinois Merchants Trust Company of Chicago; Sir Henry W. Thornton, K. B. E., of the Canadian National Railways, Montreal.

After the election of officers, Prof. Edwin F. Gay spoke of the new journal of business and economic history which is to be published in the fall, as having an appeal for the student and economist. He stated that it will deal with the broader aspects of economic history at first, but believes that in time it will include also

more of business history in the narrow sense. He expressed the hope that the Society would feel proud in helping to establish a scientific publication of the highest type in its own field.

Mr. Howard Corning of The Business Historical Society spoke on the manuscript collection of records of the first iron works in the American Colonies, started at Saugus, Massachusetts. After some exhaustive research work on the papers, Mr. Corning read a paper embodying their story and significance at the annual meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute. He gave the Society a brief outline of the history of the iron works, and some of the more interesting details as to the cost of living, the cost of labor, and the difficulties of making money for owners in the Old World in a new country where there was little specie used, and barter was still the common means of exchange. He also showed the method of mounting the papers on silk to preserve them for the future.

Mr. Charles C. Eaton, Librarian of the Society, spoke on the collections of untold value which have been acquired by gift or purchase during the year, and of what has already been accomplished by the Society in making them available to the student of business and research, as well as the difficulties in the way of those who are doing the work.

Outstanding among the new acquisitions is the George C. Dempsey Collection, which he described as one of the most extensive libraries on the whole field of temperance agitation and liquor legislation. He told of finding a second volume of a Myles Coverdale Bible, the first bible printed in England, among Mr. Dempsey's books. Being puzzled as to why this treasure should be in a liquor collection, he finally discovered a receipt for usquebaugh written on a blank page.

Mr. Eaton emphasized the constantly enlarging horizon of business literature as illustrated by the above story and mentioned many other items, which at first sight hardly seemed to belong to a business collection and yet finally proved to be appropriate. He mentioned a recent deposit at the Baker Library, consisting of a set of journals and account books of J. J. Audubon, the great ornithologist. The connection between ornithology and business seemed rather hazy until an inspection of the gift revealed that Mr. Audubon was his own salesman. After writing his books, he used to travel about the country, interviewing all the great men of his time and keeping accurate records of his books as he sold them. Among many interesting records of these sales is to be found that

to Mr. Daniel Webster in Marshfield, Massachusetts, a set of the elephant folio edition which is now housed and preserved in the Public Library at Haverhill, Massachusetts.

A similar broadening of the horizon on our subject is illustrated by the interesting collection given by Warren H. Manning and previously described in this bulletin, of a collection of early New England agricultural and industrial implements. Although these are obviously of business interest, it raises the question of how far a library is justified in collecting museum material and leads to the further speculation on the possibilities of linking the business library and an industrial museum of some sort — each adding strength and interest to the other.

Mr. Eaton emphasized the growing problem of the preparation and care of the many manuscripts which are being given to the Society. Many old papers like those in a collection from the family of John Hancock are in brittle or even mildewed condition and must be covered with silk immediately upon receipt in order to preserve them from disintegration. Collections contained in as many as sixty-five large packing cases must be tediously sorted, cleaned, classified and analyzed before the students are even allowed to examine them.

One such collection has occupied the library for a period of six months already, and is not more than one-half done. Different language barriers must often be overcome, as in the Medici Manuscripts, written in a sort of hybrid Latin-Italian, and even seventeenth-century English manuscripts require the work of most highly trained experts for their decipherment. All of these complications add enormously to the expenses of handling collections which are generously given to the Society.

After the meeting there was general inspection of the George F. Baker Library and of the business historical collections, under the guidance of Mr. Eaton, and luncheon was served at the Faculty Club.

“The Lottery Exterminator”

SIR WILLIAM PETTY, in the seventeenth century, says, “A Lottery . . . is properly a tax upon unfortunate self-conceited fools. . . . Wherefore, a Lottery is not tolerated without authority, assigning the proportion in which the people shall pay for their errors, and taking care that they be not much or so often couzened, as they themselves would be.”

The custom of government sanction for lotteries, indicated in the question, is recalled by a thin pamphlet in the possession of the Society, entitled "The Lottery Exterminator," published in New York, in 1842, as a first issue of a proposed periodical. For centuries, lotteries were a recognized source of revenue, and still figure in the budgets of several European states before the World War. The last of them in the United States, the great Louisiana Lottery, was not discontinued until 1890. Lotteries were used to raise money for the building of churches, museums and schools, or for the assistance of charities and the fine arts, with few qualms of conscience, until the last century.

In 1842 they were still flourishing in most parts of this country, but they were everywhere becoming an object of public indignation. Reformers were denouncing the evils of the system with all the flowing dramatic eloquence of the period, through the newspapers, and the usual mushroom crop of pamphlets that springs up when public opinion is aroused.

"The Lottery Exterminator" begins with the striking quotation:

"Wives have been induced to rob their husbands — children their parents — servants their masters, and foremen their employers; — mothers have neglected their children — disappointed in their ill-founded hopes has driven thousands to suicide; — in short, almost every crime that can be imagined, has been occasioned, either directly or indirectly, by Lotteries."

The pages of the magazine are devoted to the "ungowning" of lottery methods, descriptions of the unspeakable evils resulting from the pernicious system, and an exposition of the theory of probabilities. The periodical seems to have had a hopeful beginning, for the copy belonging to the Society is one of a second edition. There is a statement on the last page that the sale of the first edition has "exceeded their most sanguine expectations, every copy having been sold in less than 3 days." It had no second issue, and whether or not any lotteries were exterminated by its one number remains a mystery.

In Memoriam

SINCE the last issue of this Bulletin the Society has suffered the loss of two of its most prominent members. It is a strange coincidence that two great men whose activities were carried on in different parts of the country, should have achieved their prominence

along such similar lines. Both men had a legal training which later was used to advantage in the organization of large and profitable industrial activities. Both men attained unusual honors in the political field. Both held the love and respect of their associates, were easily approached and always sympathetic to the many demands that were made upon their time and energies.

Ex-Governor William C. Sproul of Pennsylvania who died on March 21, was a man who had achieved success through a long line of activities, dealing with newspaper work, the organization of a ship-building plant, and his connections with many of the most prominent enterprises of Pennsylvania and West Virginia. At the time of his death he was President of the General Refractories Company. His political career started at the age of twenty-six, when he was elected a member of the State Senate of Pennsylvania. The confidence of his constituents was proved through his reëlection in six consecutive campaigns and his presidency of the Senate for two terms. As Governor of Pennsylvania, to which position he was elected in 1918, he achieved such unprecedented success that he was mentioned as a possibility for the Presidency of the United States in the Republican National Convention held in Chicago in 1920, and refused the nomination for Vice-President which Calvin Coolidge later accepted.

With all his other activities he still found leisure to give considerable time to his interest in scientific work. He furnished money for the building of the Sproul Observatory at Swarthmore College and donated one of the most powerful telescopes in the East to this institution. The research possibilities offered by The Business Historical Society attracted him, and his loss to this organization will be keenly felt.

In Massachusetts there is mourned the loss of Hon. Charles G. Washburn of Worcester, whose personality and sympathetic handling of the problems constantly presented to him by his friends and associates made him of a man prominent in industrial activities and politics. His sudden and untimely death was a shock to all of his friends and associates and his loss will be felt by those who came in contact with him.

Mr. Washburn received a broad education in that he was a graduate of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Science, and later finished his college education at Harvard, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Not content, however, with this unusually broad and technical

education, he took up the study of law and was admitted to the Bar of Suffolk County in 1886.

His combined training as an engineer and a lawyer gave him an unusual advantage in entering business and especially the manufacturing field with which he and his family had been previously connected. While yet a law student, he organized the Wire Goods Company, now the Wire Goods Division of the Washburn Company, which has grown with the years and is now an important industry of Worcester. Other manufacturing developments attracted him, but in later years he gradually relinquished his active management of many of his enterprises in favor of his brother, Mr. Reginald Washburn, under whose management the Washburn Company has become an organization of importance.

Mr. Washburn's energy and enterprise are reflected in the many other activities which occupied his time, among which may be mentioned his position as Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, Director of the Worcester Gas Light Company, and the political prominence which he achieved early in 1900. He was elected to Congress at the death of Congressman Rockwood Hoar and was twice re-elected to this position. His connection with the special committee which revised the corporation laws of the Commonwealth was a notable honor, as was his position as delegate at the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention and at the Republican National Convention when Theodore Roosevelt was nominated.

As a college friend and intimate of Roosevelt, it was most fitting that he was one of the committee which notified Roosevelt of his nomination. This friendship between them endured throughout Roosevelt's life, and his selection as a biographer for Roosevelt and his assignment to deliver a memorial address on the occasion of his death, were tributes to this intimacy.

Mr. Washburn was deeply interested in a wide field of subjects, and his writings cover biography, economics, history and politics, and will be valuable to students for years to come.

Although a recent member of The Business Historical Society, he had shown a marked interest in the progress of its affairs and had been most coöperative in procuring historical business data of importance.

Secretary's Column

THE SECRETARY takes pleasure in acknowledging the following additions of historical interest to the records possessed by the Society.

From the late Hon. Charles G. Washburn, of Worcester, a monograph entitled "Industrial Worcester."

From Dr. Willis Hatfield Hazard of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, Boston, State Insurance Reports.

From Mr. Martin P. Rice, General Electric Company, "History of the Incandescent Lamp."

From Mr. D. F. Edwards, President, Saco Lowell Shops, Boston, a monograph on Textile Machinery.

From Mr. Warren H. Manning, Cambridge, State Reports relating to Regional Planning Activities.

From an officer of the Society, Miscellaneous papers and code book relating to the whaling industry from 1880 to 1886, and other items of interest and value.

From Prof. N. S. B. Gras, Soldiers Field, Boston, Monographs on Economic Institutions, Beginnings of Agriculture in America and on the Automobile Industry.

From the estate of Benjamin T. Hill of Worcester, a unique and very valuable collection of clippings and other material relating to transportation of all kinds and covering the period between 1830-40.

The General Membership of the Society now numbers 268 members. The following names have been added since the last issue of the Bulletin:

Mr. Herbert M. Sears, President, Everett Mills of Lawrence, Boston.

Mr. Bowen Tufts, Vice-President, C. D. Parker and Company, Boston.

Mr. Frederick A. Farrar, Vice-President, Electric Bond and Share Company, New York City.

Mr. Alfred P. Thom, General Counsel, Association of Railway Executives, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Fred Lazarus, Jr., F. and R. Lazarus and Company, Columbus, Ohio.

The affiliated membership now numbers 57 and there have been added during the past month the following:

Mr. Charles H. Clark, Secretary-Treasurer, Textile Research Council, Boston.

Prof. Irving Fisher, Yale University, New Haven.

Prof. Jay Barrett Botsford, Brown University, Providence.

BULLETIN *of The* BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

BAKER LIBRARY, SOLDIERS FIELD, BOSTON, MASS.

Volume II, No. 5

OCTOBER, 1928

Whole Number 15

Summer Activities

DURING the months of July and August, several members of the staff of The Business Historical Society, Inc., found it possible to combine business with vacations and to make a number of connections of national and international importance.

Late in June the Librarian, Charles C. Eaton, went to England and the Continent, to investigate the possibility of acquiring historical business material of which he had information. He found a great amount of data which, if secured, will add greatly to the business information now in the archives of the Baker Library. He made lists of some three thousand items which are now being checked and appraised by the owners, and it is hoped that in time considerable material may be thus acquired.

In connection with this work he made contact with the owners of several private collections which it would be most advantageous to acquire, if purchase arrangements can be effected. These range from a comprehensive library on French Economics, costing upwards of four thousand dollars, to a very large and valuable collection of books on the history of economics, which is held at a price beyond our present means.

On the other hand, he received as gifts from the Suez Canal Company much statistical data and information relating to the inception and growth of the company; and from the Crédit Lyonnais a series of statistical reports and other material of interest. Ways and means are now being considered for the acquisition of other collections which can be obtained only by purchase.

The middle of July found the Executive Secretary, Frank C. Ayres, en route to England, France and Switzerland. During his spare time in London, he secured a new member for the Society and followed up a number of possible connections which had previously been started by correspondence.

His experience with the Federation of British Industries was most satisfactory, and the future active coöperation of this organization is assured. Through the courtesy of its officers, Mr. Ayres received letters of introduction to a number of important men and organizations in London. Among these may be mentioned a contact made with Mr. G. I. H. Lloyd, Chief of the Department of Overseas Trade of the British Empire. This governmental department is in a position to give us valuable assistance, and this co-operation, together with that of other individuals and societies approached, should help us in many directions.

In Paris Mr. Ayres established very satisfactory relations with the Bank of France through its Deputy Governor, Mr. Charles Rist; with the American Chamber of Commerce in France through its Secretary, Mr. Frank A. Boole; and with the American Consul General, whose interest was readily secured when the purposes and plans of the Society were explained to him.

Among the recent additions to our membership, listed elsewhere, is that of Mr. James Hazen Hyde, a resident of Paris, upon whom Mr. Ayres called. He is very much in sympathy with our project, and made a number of valuable suggestions which should assist materially in building up our organization in France, and result in the acquisition of desirable material.

In conversation with M. Roland Marcel, L'Administrateur Général of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Mr. Ayres received a proposition of unusual interest. M. Marcel would like to devote a magnificent room, which was at one time the reception room of the Cardinal for whom the building was designed, to an American Library exhibit. This might be maintained jointly by the American Library Association and The Business Historical Society. The details of the plan are now under consideration and if it becomes a fact, this library will go far toward establishing a better mutual understanding of policies between the two countries.

Encouraging as are the tangible aspects of this trip, the intangible ones are even more so. It has put the Society in touch with foreign interests in a way which could not have been accomplished for years, through the less personal medium of correspondence.

Mr. Howard Corning's paper entitled "The First Iron Works in America," which he delivered, on the invitation of the American Iron and Steel Institute, at their semi-annual meeting in May, excited so much favorable comment that it was determined early in July to make an effort to secure additional information on the subject. To this end Mr. Corning spent a part of his vacation in the iron and steel district of the Middle West, with very gratifying results.

One of the purposes of the trip was to bring the Society to the people of the section visited in such manner as to ensure the future preservation of business material wherever it might exist, and to obtain information as to its character and whereabouts, so that students might use it when necessary. In many instances he found valuable collections of data, which were in danger of destruction, due to lack of housing facilities or the indifference of the owners, and these were acquired and will be carefully collated and catalogued. He found, however, that much historical data relating to the iron and steel, lumber and transportation interests had already been collected by individuals and organizations and had been deposited in various historical Societies. The knowledge of where these collections are and what they contain will help the Society when giving assistance to inquirers. By continuing this policy, in various parts of the country, it is expected that in time material will be available which will give a clear picture of early activities, and full information on file as to where it may be found.

As examples of the information acquired from the section of the country visited by Mr. Corning, the following collections are of outstanding importance:

At Buffalo. *Buffalo Historical Society*, Mr. Bingham, Curator, Mr. Sev-erance, Secretary and Treasurer. They specialize on lake transportation and early newspapers.

At Cleveland. *The Western Reserve Historical Society*, Wallace H. Cath-gart, Curator. They have the records and correspondence of the Con-necticut Land Company, the Zoah Community, the Shaker settlements in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky and Tennessee. They have also nine cases of the papers of Elisha Whittlesey, who was first Comptroller of the Treas-ury, also the records of the First Bank in Cleveland.

At Detroit. *The Burton Collection*, a collection the result of fifty-five years' work by Mr. Clarence E. Burton of Detroit and covering a very wide range of subjects and time. It is housed in the Detroit Public Lib-rary and Mrs. L. Oughtred Woltz is in charge.

At Ann Arbor. *Clements Library*, Mr. Randolph Adams, Librarian. The papers of Lord Shelburne of England, and many other early American manuscript collections.

At Mackinac Island. Six volumes of old *Astor* records relating to the American Fur Company.

At Ishpeming, Mich. The records of the *Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company*, a very complete collection of the papers of this company and its predecessors back to about 1850.

At Madison, Wis. The Wisconsin Historical Society has the records of the first Internationale, the papers of Senator Vilas, and the early records of the Kentucky and Tennessee immigrants.

While at Buffalo and Cleveland, Mr. Corning received promises of coöperation on the part of the respective Chambers of Commerce and in the latter city received full information regarding records of the Cleveland-Cliffs Iron Company, which are unusually complete. These are now carefully protected from possible damage and will, without doubt, be available for research if any serious work is contemplated.

Much historical data relating to the lumber industry was found in Detroit, some of which may come to the Society later. Certain material relating to the early banking situation and iron development of this section is still in existence, and worthy of the attention of students.

A short call at Ann Arbor resulted in closer relations with the Clements Library. Here are housed the "Shelburne Papers," recently acquired from England, dealing with colonial commerce. A week end spent at Mackinac Island resulted in the study of some of the Astor records of the American Fur Company, running from 1816 to 1850. These are not available for permanent deposit in the Baker Library, but may be loaned to us during the winter months when the headquarters are closed. At Marquette, much interesting material relating to the iron industry was found, some of which will eventually find its way to the Baker Library.

Mr. Corning had similar experiences in Milwaukee and Madison, Wisconsin, while in Chicago an impetus was gained in our affairs which is timely and of far-reaching importance.

It will be difficult to estimate the advantages to be derived from this series of visits in the Middle West. By means of newspaper publicity and personal interviews the business men of this section are made keenly alive to the necessity of preserving business records even at the expense of some personal inconvenience. Guidance

for future activities will be sought from the experiences of the past, and the Society has obtained valuable information required by men engaged in research and study.

Illuminated Log of the Good Ship "Crown Point"

A VERY amusing picture of an East India voyage in the early 'sixties is left us in one of a small collection of log books recently presented to the Society. By the time of the Civil War the importance of sailing craft was already on the wane, but it was not until after the war that the real change from sails to steam power began, and in 1862 a fleet of vessels still made profit of New England handicaps by carrying ice to the tropical ports.

The mate of the *Crown Point*, "from Boston with a cargo of ice by Frederic Tudor, bound for Bombay or Calcutta in the East Indies," had a sense of humor, and considerable talent in drawing ships. The usual "remarks on board," about the wind and weather, and the setting or reefing of sails, are illustrated with ships, sitting on neatly scalloped waves.

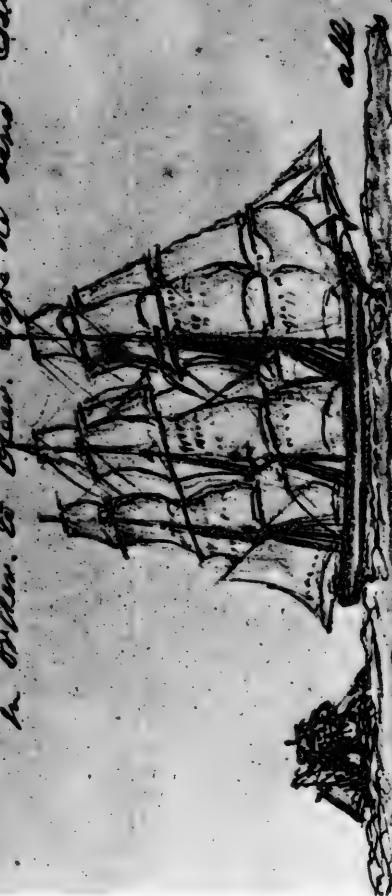
In the middle of the seventh day out, they "bent a fore sail and set him reefed, having for the first time an opportunity to bend him since blown away in Boston Bay." The *Crown Point* is shown below, plunging through black and blue waves under reefed topsails.

More sails are set progressively, until she appears running before the wind, with studdingsails set. The mate is a master hand at drawing one vessel at a time, but his picture of the *Crown Point* passing an "English ship bound home" is rather rickety. And his attempts at portraying the various occupations of the crew belong to the kindergarten school of drawing.

On the twenty-third of January begin "Calms, Calms, Calms and very warm weather. Made a finish of unbending all the new Sails and bent old ones. One of the men that had frozen fingers at work on duty."

The next day the same weather continues, and his comment is a double head, progressing both ways from the mouth, which is saying, "calm, calm," upside down. Underneath the picture he says that "strong breezes would be quite, acceptable, as it would be good for hard looks and Sore Eyes."

Commenced with great trouble from bad
set. One stormyesterday and anotheresterday
bad thoughts and left off by morn. for a Convales-
cence. to Blue. Days & were passed in the engine.



Middle Point. yesterday and day weather

THE "CROWN POINT," Tudor ICE SHIP
As drawn by her mate in the ship's log.

The breeze springs up at last, and continues fairly well for a time, while one of the crew, represented with a sort of flexible rubber arm, picks over the potatoes, and finds "12 remaining sound," meaning twelve barrels, it is to be hoped.

"Myself employed in painting buckets." This would seem an odd way for a mate to spend his time, but it appears to be a common occupation with this one.

On February thirteenth the calms begin again. The "remarks" are traced in a large, decorative hand, "all throughout these 24 hours' Calms, Calms, Calms. This day caught a large dolphin"; the whole illustrated with an absurd and well dressed mermaid supported by an anchor bearing the motto, "Hope for the Best."

On Valentine's day the situation is alleviated with a "great Shanghai rooster for dinner," done in blue and pink crayon. Two weeks later appears an alleged albatross, with a head like a sea horse, prodigiously long legs, and a decided rake aft.

Every incident is given some notice by his pencil.

"Pigs out running about the decks"—(a line of pigs, reduced to their simplest terms).

"Let one Reef out the Topsail set Jib and Mainsail Reefed. Ship came up an passed us under two Close Reef Topsail and foresail. Supposing her a Clipper Ship." (She is superfluously marked "Clipper," for he has indicated her lines unmistakably.) "Set top Gallant sails over Reef Topsails, haveing Double the Cape of Good hope."

"Steward with Fowls for dinner and Cats after him."

The obituary of one of the cats, when a "Fore Topsail Braice [—?] parted, & came upon deck, and Killed the Cat," is illustrated with an unflattering picture of the deceased, showing the manner of her death.

A few years after this voyage of the *Crown Point*, American sailing vessels were still to be seen in numbers, in port or on the high seas, but their importance was secondary. The country had definitely turned to steam transportation as its main reliance for commercial progress. But that same intimate flavor of the sea, which has largely been lost since the young days of American commerce, is preserved in the casual drawings and comments in this log of an ice ship.

Whale Sawdust. Sperm



Shovel. nose of whale.

Lower part light. Porpoising from N.E. and spit many of stones
Baptized: Vanishing shades: and back. Towing: Chain out
from of Barn. End in Sharp Martingale Guise & 17
at same time employ 2 men in Old. Spain.

July 23 1813
Sawdust. Sperm. 65. 35 bush

888 days from Boston

The First American Public Utility

IN 1711, Englishmen interested in news from North America were entertained by a representation of the efficiency displayed by Canadian beavers in dam building, engraved in the border of a "New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain" on this continent. The map is in an atlas of Herman Moll, a prominent British cartographer of the early eighteenth century. The atlas is a recent acquisition of the Society. This particular map is in great demand by public utility companies, as the first historical reference to the production of water power in America, and copies of it, when they can be found, bring from two to three hundred dollars.

The legend under the illustration states that "ye Beavers of Canada, to stop the course of a Rivulet, in order to make a great Lake, about wch they build their habitations, fell large Trees with their Teeth, in such a manner as to make them come Cross ye Rivulet, to lay ye foundation of ye Dam; they make Mortar, and finish ye whole with great order and wonderfull Dexterity. According to ye French Accounts."

The engraver has elaborated on the methods of the beavers with a great deal of imagination. The picture shows an army of overgrown, leonine beasts, in systematic competition with Niagara, indicated more or less accurately, in the background. One is busy felling a tree, and a second crouches beside him with a cynical expression, ready for business again after he has made sure that his partner is doing a workmanlike job. Others are gnawing fallen branches into short lengths, carrying armfuls of these short pieces, or dragging loads of mud on their tails. A neat dwelling house stands on the shores of the beaver-made lake, much like an Esquimo's igloo, with a door to the landward, and another leading into the water, as further described by the French travellers.

In the day when the map was made, the British colonists were building up permanent settlements along the Atlantic coast, but the interior of the country was known chiefly to wandering French trappers and missionaries, and their remarkable tales were the principal source of information about that little known region, for curious Europeans. Other maps in the atlas show some knowledge of the Spanish part of the country in the south. The northwestern section of the continent, however, is shown without a boundary, and designated as "parts unknown."



DIVISION OF LABOR AMONG CANADIAN BEAVERS

This first recorded reference to the artificial production of water power in America, taken from an eighteenth-century atlas, is much sought for by Public Utility Companies.

The science of map-making had advanced greatly, even in the last century. As accuracy increased, the elaborate ornamentation of maps waned. By the time of Herman Moll, the pictures and scroll-work had become incidental, and less fanciful than supposedly instructive. Instead of the sea monsters, ships, and wild beasts which earlier map makers scattered about to fill in areas about which nothing was known, Moll and his contemporaries confined themselves to a picture or two in the margin, illustrating the industries of the country, the types of inhabitants, the principal cities, or "whatever was most remarkable."

After 1700, the error in the measurement of the earth, adopted by Ptolemy from the astronomer Posidonius, which had been the basis of the distortion of mediaeval maps, was abandoned. And although Moll's maps are less decorative than those of his predecessors, there is some truth in the claim he makes on his title page to have "corrected the Errors of antient Geographers."

In Memoriam

THE Society suffered a severe loss in the death of Mr. Howard Elliott, for years an outstanding figure in the railroad world. His own field was in the middle west, where he rose from a position as rodman with the Burlington system, while he was still a student at Harvard, to the presidency of the Northern Pacific Railway, in the space of twenty-three years. However, he was of New England stock, educated at the Lawrence Scientific School of Harvard University, and a descendant of John Elliott who settled Boston in 1631, and it was not unfitting that he should have been the one called upon to put the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad back on its feet at a time when the road was, both physically and financially, in a condition that almost bordered on wreck.

Indeed, an hour after the train bringing the new president east had passed through North Haven, Connecticut, there occurred in that town one of the worst wrecks in railroad history. His handling of the emergency showed the ability, tact and straightforwardness that was to rehabilitate the road, and gain for it the confidence both of the New England public and the press.

Immediately he reversed the rule regarding publicity which had existed on the New Haven road from time immemorial. Newspaper men were admitted to Mr. Elliott's office, and he promised

them that all the facts would be given them. He set about at once caring for the injured, and settled the threatened strike of the engineers and firemen. He slowed down the speed of the New Haven's fast trains, and instituted a strict watch and clock inspection service, inaugurating a régime of safe and regular, rather than spectacular service.

The great nervous strain of this almost impossible task induced a nervous breakdown, and he resigned the presidency in May, 1917 (continuing as a director), but not until he had accomplished what he set out to do.

During the War, however, he served on the railroads' war board, and when the federal railroad administration came into existence, he was made chairman of the committee that inaugurated the zoning system to facilitate coal transportation.

In 1918-1920, he was active in the fight for remedial legislation for the American transportation system. In 1920 he returned to the Northern Pacific as chairman of the directorate.

As President of the Harvard Overseers, and a trustee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, he showed his keen interest in education. As a member of The Business Historical Society, he showed, by continual coöperation and repeated gifts, his enthusiasm for business research and the application of that research to modern affairs. Although a man of many affairs, Mr. Elliott was never too busy to give his time and attention to any worthy cause. This Society will feel keenly the loss of his constant advice and assistance.

It is with profound regret that we announce the death of Mr. Alfred C. Rulofson, who was one of our most active members on the Pacific Coast. He was deeply interested in the welfare of the Society and realized its unusual advantages to the business men of the present day.

Mr. Rulofson was constructive in business and had a clear vision of a greater San Francisco, based upon local industries which would give permanence to the city and promote its financial, commercial and shipping powers. To this end he labored for years, and now his foresight is developing a basic industrial situation which goes far to assist the commercial prospects of his city.

It has been due largely to his unlimited efforts that substantial industries have been established and with the facilities along the whole southern shore for factory purposes, an amount of enthusi-

asm was developed by the work of this optimistic man which will go far toward increasing the population and prosperity of the city.

In line with this vision of the future, he interested himself in the international side of industrial enterprises and worked diligently to effect a closer and more cordial relationship in matters of business between the United States, and the Orient. Because of his prominence in this department of industrial work, he was made one of a commission which was sent by the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco to review the industrial situation in China and Japan during the year 1914, and as a result the industrial importance of San Francisco during the succeeding years was greatly enhanced.

In Society matters Mr. Rulofson realized that if business is to be placed upon a firm and substantial footing, the experiences of the past must be considered in connection with the activities of the future. Ever since he joined the Society in January of 1927, he has been an active promoter of the purposes and plans for which the Society was formed. His suggestions for the future welfare of the organization have all been sound and helpful, and the energetic coöperation which he has accorded in the past will be sorely missed by the Society.

Secretary's Column

ACQUISITIONS

THE so-called "vacation period" of July and August seems to have been a time for the investigation of files and boxes of old material, with the result that the Society has received many additions to its store of information. The Secretary takes pleasure in acknowledging the following:

From Robert L. Smitley, New York, Thirty years of Edison Service, 1880-1911; "System Operation," July 1, 1927; and seven volumes of the "Far Eastern Review," "Foreign Trade Journal," etc.

From Herbert G. Porter, Boston, "Thirty Year Review of the General Electric Company."

From J. G. Brill Company, Philadelphia, "The Brill Magazine," complete.

From F. A. Turner, Boston, A quantity of Corporation material and other interesting items.

From Col. Thomas Cantley, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, MacDonald on the Coal and Iron Industries of Nova Scotia.

From Salisbury Iron Corporation, Lime Rock, Connecticut, Moldenke on Charcoal Iron.

From Rice and Hutchins, Boston, "A Retrospect of the Shoe Business," 1866 to 1916.

From Charles Copeland, Secretary, E. I. DuPont de Nemours Company, Wilmington, Delaware, History of the organization, annual reports and files of the "Du Pont Magazine."

From American Management Association, New York, Many files of pamphlets and publications relating to a variety of business subjects; also other miscellaneous pamphlets.

From Charles E. Goodpseed, Boston, American Bank ledgers and records. Journal of Canal Bridge and Lechmere Point Corporation, records and other material.

From C. F. Sise, President, Bell Telephone of Canada, Montreal, "Pioneering the Telephone in Canada."

From Nederlandsch-Economisch-Historisch Archief, Amsterdam, Volumes of the Jaarboek and other material.

From Samuel S. Dale, Boston, "Tavole di Ragguglio dei Pesi e delle Misure" (Italian Weights and Measures); also books and pamphlets on cotton growing and weights and measures.

From Thomas L. Wayne, Cincinnati, Ledgers and miscellaneous papers relating to early business conditions in Cincinnati.

From Edgar H. Wells and Company, New York, "Mercator or Commerce Retrieved" (Rare).

From D. M. Dow, Official Secretary Commissioner for Australia, New York, Official Year Book for Australia.

From Radio Corporation of America, New York, Copies of lectures delivered relating to Radio and hearings before the Federal Radio Commission.

From Swift and Company, Chicago, History of the Live Stock industry entitled "The Yankee of the Yards."

From Charles D. Barney and Company, New York, Annual Review of the Tobacco Industry.

From Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Thesis on disposition of Iron Lands in Minnesota.

From Pepperell Manufacturing Company, Boston, Time sheets of the Lowell Mills from 1855.

From M. Leon Vignola, Paramé, France, "Les Antilles Françaises sous L'Ancien Régime," "Les Phares en Bretagne."

From W. K. Flint, Antrim, New Hampshire, New Hampshire documents, guide books and other material.

From S. C. Hunneman, Carded Woolen Manufacturers Association, Boston, Volume on Wool Tariff, Wool Labelling, Weights and Measures.

From an officer of the Society, Books, pictures, pamphlets, and other interesting material.

MEMBERSHIP

The loss by death of two notable members, mention of which is made elsewhere in this issue, has reduced our General Membership to 273 names. It is hoped that this membership may be increased to 300 names before the end of the year, and to this end the Secretary will be glad to receive assistance or suggestions from members who have friends or associates whose coöperation might be obtained. The following names have been added since the last report:

James Hazen Hyde, Paris, France.

C. Frederick C. Stout, President, John R. Evans Company, Camden, N. J.

Edward J. Pearson, President, New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, New Haven, Connecticut.

Thomas H. McKittrick, Jr., Manager, Higginson and Company, London, England.

Parmely W. Herrick, Cleveland, Ohio.

Edward L. Hurd, Director, United Shoe Machinery Corporation, Boston.

Edwin Farnham Greene, President, Edwin Farnham Greene and Company, Inc., New York City.

George B. Baker, Baker, Young and Company, Boston.

Hon. Eugene N. Foss, President, The B. F. Sturtevant Company, Boston.

The Affiliated Membership now numbers 62 names. The following have been added since the last report:

D. D. Carroll, Dean, School of Commerce, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

F. G. Knight, Director, Source Research Bureau, Chicago, Illinois.

Irving S. Paull, President, Institute of Carpet Manufacturers, Washington, D. C.

It is gratifying to report this increased membership during a period when business matters usually receive the least possible attention. The remaining months of the year, however, constitute a period of normal activity and it is hoped that many notable members may be added to our list.

OUR FINANCIAL CONDITION

The financial condition of the Society is sound and satisfactory; but additional funds could be used advantageously in acquiring much-needed collections. As has been previously stated, the financial policy adopted by the Trustees early this year is conservative and constructive.

This plan provides that all admission fees, five per cent per annum of all Life Memberships, and all cash gifts be placed in a Reserve Account for use in the purchase of valuable material which cannot be acquired gratuitously. The advantage of having this cash fund available has been demonstrated several times during the past year. The credit balance now amounts to about \$6000, of which \$4000 is deposited in a savings bank for the benefit of the increased interest rate.

The receipts from Annual Dues and interest on bank balances constitute the working fund of the Society. This now amounts to about \$6500 annually. The working fund includes salaries, travelling expenses, expenditures for printing and stationery, postage and incidentals, but is inadequate to the requirements for the rapid growth of the Society.

This condition can easily be remedied by an increased membership which would result in a three-fold advantage: first, a larger Reserve Account, due to the Admission Fees received; second, an increased working capital; and third, a wider opportunity for the acquisition of historical material.

The foundation of the Society being so thoroughly substantial in all its departments, it is hoped that our members will assist the Secretary by interesting their friends in the undertaking or by making suggestions which may be used to advantage.

BULLETIN of *The* BUSINESS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED

BAKER LIBRARY, SOLDIERS FIELD, BOSTON, MASS.

Volume II, No. 6

NOVEMBER, 1928

Whole Number 16

The Flowing Bowl

THE history of liquor, from the time when Noah "planted a vineyard and drank of the wine" to the controversy over the eighteenth amendment to our Constitution, has been presented to the Society by the heirs of George C. Dempsey. Everything pertaining to the subject is liberally represented: receipts for wassail bowl (to be served with three pieces of toasted bread floating in it), milk posset (the receipt furnished by Sir Walter Raleigh), and 'rack punch (the beverage on which the Collector of Boggley Wallah disgraced himself at "Vanity Fair"); legislation, from the excise laws under the Stuarts to the licensing of American saloons; what the complete brewer should know; adulteration of liquor; temperance; prohibition; and the praise of wine.

A lightsome eighteenth century English author wrote in but "Praise of Drunkenness," not from any love of being drunken, rather so as "not to lose the witty remarks that occurred to him on the subject." This he resolved to do although he should have no listeners (for his title, he thought, would drive away some, and others would reply to it as did one Greek to another who had resolved to write an encomium on Hercules, "who ever reproached Hercules?").

While the British eulogist was quoting ancient physicians and philosophers to the effect that it is necessary to health and happiness to get drunk once a month or oftener, his more serious-minded New England contemporaries were preaching sermons and distributing hair-raising rhymes on the dangers of excessive drinking.

One such details graphically the evils of drink by sea and land, and in the hereafter:

Seamen their spirits so inflame,
Scarce able for to steer;
So thousands perish in the main,
Large numbers every year.

They that in such vile ways go on
In this doleful excess,
For everlasting are undone,
And darkness must possess.
Wont such reform, they must expire,
And quickly end their breath;
And land in everlasting fire,
But never burn to death.

Few at that time, however, doubted that alcoholic drink in moderation was a necessity, however opinions might differ on drunkenness. Good, strong beer or ale was considered an essential part of a healthy English farmer's diet. "Drink being certainly a Nourisher of the Body, as well as Meats," it was considered bad economy, as many a doctor's bill proved, to serve the hands with beer which was not strong enough to keep them in good condition.

"For the unactive Man, a Hogshead of Ale which is made from six Bushels of Malt is sufficient for a Diluter of their Food, and will better assist their Constitution than the more strong Sort."

But whatever his occupation or degree, says "The London and Country Brewer," written in 1750, every man will find many "Advantages of Body and Purse in a due Knowledge and Management in Brewing Malt-Liquors, which are of the greatest Importance, as they are in a considerable Degree our Nourishment, and on their Goodness depends very much the Health and Longevity of the Body."

However, if he could sit down to his pot of brown ale or "strong October beer" with a clear conscience, he had no better guarantee of what he was drinking than goes with the post-Volstead article. Malt-liquors were often adulterated and "greatly abused by avaricious and ill-principled People. This undoubtedly was one, and perhaps the greatest, of Lord Bacon's Reasons for saying, he thought not one Englishman in a Thousand died a natural Death. Witness that some have made use of the Coccus India Berry for making Drink heady, and saving the Expence of Malt; but this is

TIME TABLE OF THE
DEAD RIVER GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY
 GREAT CENTRAL THROUGH ROUTE.

BROAD GAUGE—QUICKEST TIME.

S. U. R. E. DEATH, President.

RUM POLICY, Secretary.

Accidents by COLLISIONS are entirely avoided, as no UP-TRAINS are run over the road.

Trains leave by the following Proportion Time Table.

LEAVE	ARRIVE
Sault Ste. Marie, 5:00	Reformerville, 6:00
Reformerville, 5:15	Redeemer's Hill, 6:15
Wigwam, 5:30	Wigwam Falls, 6:30
Thunderbird, 5:45	Thunderbird, 6:45
Topperville, 6:00	Topperville, 7:00
Launderville, 6:15	Launderville, 7:15
Shaver's Falls, 6:30	Shaver's Falls, 7:30
Quarrerville, 6:45	Quarrerville, 7:45
Zererville, 7:00	Zererville, 8:00
Lightning, 7:15	Lightning, 8:15
Thunderbird, 7:30	Thunderbird, 8:30
Enderville, 7:45	Enderville, 8:45
Gardner's Junction, 8:00	Gardner's Junction, 9:00
Breakneck's Curve, 8:15	Breakneck's Curve, 9:15
Devonport, 8:30	Devonport, 9:30
Elmer's Hollow, 8:45	Elmer's Hollow, 9:45
Arrow Crossing, 8:55	Arrow Crossing, 9:55
Thunderbird, 9:00	Thunderbird, 9:00
Gambler's Corner, 9:15	Gambler's Corner, 9:15
Elkwoodend Falls, 9:30	Elkwoodend Falls, 9:30
Princeton, 9:45	Princeton, 9:45
Despotism, 9:55	Despotism, 9:55
Paper Street, 10:00	Paper Street, 10:00

LEAVING EXPRESS

DEAD RIVER, DEATH.

NOTICE.

All trains will stop at *Reformerville* if passengers desire to leave at that station. But all persons stopping will forfeit their through tickets to *Princeton*.

Tickets are sold by all Sample Rooms and *Ham Hotels*, they being our only authorized agents.

Daily Patrons of the Road, about *Princeton*, too, supplied with Through Tickets at reduced rates.

From *Drunkard's Curve* the train is an Express all the way in being done above that station, and principally of respectable people. Passengers for all places beyond are taken without stopping the train, except at *Reformerville*.

Persons desiring to leave the train, will find the Stages of the *TEMPERANCE ALLIANCE* *Drunkard's Curve* ready to take them free to any of the villages upon *Coal Stream River*.

Passengers not allowed to stand on the platform, or to put their heads out of the windows below *Breakneck Slope*—the corporation not wishing to alarm persons who are not passengers.

Sleeping cars are provided for through passengers, who will be awakened frequently, that an opportunity for alcoholic refreshments may be given.

All persons living in the vicinity of this Road must look out for the engine, as no bell is rung or breakmen employed below *Drunkard's Curve*, and the Company disclaim all responsibility for damages.

All baggage at the risk of the owners, who are liable in amount of damages laid by friends on this Road, are informed that the Corporation will adhere strictly to the wages of the Road, and positively will not restore lost baggage.

The Conductor of the morning Jersey Lightning Express is T. H. E. Devil, Esq., well

known to the traveling public who patronize our line, and popular at the principal stations on the Dead River Line.

Being the Rule of *Prohibition*, no spaces are made to securing the through tickets, or rendering other services to passengers bound for his kingdom.

Passengers in the sleeping cars, especially Stockholders, will be wakened up at *Reformerville*, *Thunderbird*, and at the end of the line.

Stages from *Tobaccoland* connect with all trains.

Special Trains will be dispatched at any time on application made to the Superintendent, or to local commanders, picnic parties, and all associations owing allegiance to *King *Prohibition** or *King Alcohol*.

NOTICE.—At the request of Superintendent Alcohol, there will be a *Business Meeting*, by and by, of the Stockholders and Conductors of the Road, to hear the Report concerning the *Prohibition* parties under the *Higher Law*!

Reason, will you assist in diffusing information about the above Road, so that multitudes who are invited to excursion upon it may be informed of the country through which it passes, and where it terminates. This advertisement will be sent free to any address or application to

R. H. McDonald & Co.,
 52 Washington St., New York City.

A BIT OF TEMPERANCE PROPAGANDA

a violent Poison by its narcotic stupifying Quality, if taken in too large a Degree, it being so much of the Nature of the deadly Nightshade, that it bears the same Character."

Another "sinister practice said to be frequently used by ill Persons" was the addition of Coriander seeds, one pound of which, at ten-pence, would answer to a bushel of malt.

"But how wretchedly ignorant are those that make Use of it, not knowing the Way first to cure and prepare it, without which it is a dangerous Thing, and will cause Sickness in the Drinkers of it?"

If the brewer were well intentioned but careless, the malt lofts and mash tuns were apt to be infested with the bood, whool or weevil, "a kind of Beetle about the Bigness of a large Flea, and like a small Ant, which will crack under the Nail like a Flea, and will not only eat the Malt Kernel, but also, when they are in abundance, will bite a Person in Bed, haunt the Cupboard, and even feed on the Plates where Meat has been eat on."

In consideration of the importance of good beer, and the dangers the unsuspecting citizen ran in drinking what came from public breweries, an anonymous "Person formerly concerned in a public Brewhouse in London," wrote "The London and Country Brewer," containing full directions for making malt-liquor at home, so that any person might have it "strong, fine, and aged, at their own Discretion."

Among other facts that the home brewer should know are how "to know good from bad Malts," done by the bite,—it should taste mellow and sweet, by water—good malt will swim in a glass of water—it will also make a mark, on a dry board, almost like chalk, and lastly, it can be told by weight; the way to refine beer by boiling ivory or hartshorn shavings in the wort; "to Brew a Quantity of Drink in a little Room, and with few Tubs;" to all of which is added a dissertation on the brewery, wherein is shown, for one thing, the convenient art of "brewing a clear, sound Drink with nasty, foul water"; and a "Philosophical Account of Brewing strong October Beer."

By the middle of the nineteenth century, doctors had begun to take the physiological effects of excessive drinking less blithely than did the Roman and Greek authorities quoted earlier. Dr. Robert Macnish, of Glasgow, enlightened the reading public in the thirties on the "Anatomy of Drunkenness," from the delightful stage when one is "neither drunken nor sober, but neighbor to both," to the eventual possibility of spontaneous combustion, in extreme cases.

It seems that there are six main varieties of drunkard; the sanguineous, the melancholy, the surly, the phlegmatic, the nervous and the choleric. A man whose temperament is a mixture of the sanguine and melancholy is the best company of any, when in his cups. Men with good voices are apt to become drunkards, making a good voice a liability rather than an asset.

Of all ardent spirits, Dr. Macnish is inclined to believe that "brandy kills soonest, rum is the next in point of fatality, and after that, whisky and gin." Some of his contemporaries disagree with him on that point, on the strength of an experiment performed with raw liver put into glasses of each liquid. The brandy dissolved the meat entirely, the gin partially, and the other two liquors had no effect on it.

Tobacco, says the doctor, excites a species of drunkenness, and "those who habitually indulge in it may with propriety be denominated drunkards." So pernicious are its effects that Pope Urban VIII published a bull, excommunicating all persons found guilty of taking snuff in church. The Sultan Amurath IV made smoking a capital offence. For a long time it was forbidden in Russia, on pain of the offender's losing his nose. And James I of England characterized it as a "custom loathsome to the eye, hatefull to the nose, harmfull to the braine, and dangerous to the lungs, and, in the black stinking fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless." Lord Stanhope calculated that a person who takes snuff regularly for forty years dedicates two of them to tickling his nose, and two more to blowing it.

On the subject of spontaneous combustion of drunkards, Dr. Macnish has his doubts.

"This is a subject," says he, "which has never been satisfactorily investigated; and notwithstanding the cases brought forward in support of the doctrine, the general opinion seems to be, that the whole is a fable."

He finds it difficult to disbelieve "the testimony of so many eminent authorities," (a number of whom have cited cases in which they firmly believe the phenomenon to have occurred). At the same time he ventures to think that there may have been some room for error, "either as to their alleged cause or their actual nature.

"The most curious fact connected with this subject is, that the combustion appears seldom to be sufficiently strong to inflame combustible substances with which it comes in contact, such as woollen or cotton, while it destroys the body, which in other cir-

cumstances is hardly combustible at all. Sometimes the body is consumed by an open flame flickering over it — at other times there is merely a smothered heat without any visible flame."

As to the cure of drunkenness, the doctor does not hold with those who advocate wholly stopping the use of alcohol at once. He fears the sudden complete removal of the stimulus would have bad effects on the constitution of the habitual drunkard. One Highland chieftan was induced to become a sober man by the process of dropping several drops of sealing wax into his glass every day, and thereby gradually filling up the space available for liquor. An American gentleman was shocked into sobriety by discovering two of his negro servant boys entertaining their companions by mimicking his drunken reelings and staggerings.

The anatomist concludes his remarks with advice to the inveterate toper who, if he will not reform, may at least be saved from the worst consequences of his folly. In order to make the best of a bad proposition, he should not drink on an empty stomach, should avoid raw spirits, prefer porter to strong ale, and above all, should not mix his drinks.

The alarming prospect held out by Dr. Macnish does not seem to have affected the enthusiasm of a reminiscent Briton who writes in the 'sixties. He has collected some of the most striking customs practiced by the ancients in connection with their cups, together with some appetizing old receipts, in a book which he hopes will "get rid of a great deal of the stereotyped drinking prevalent at the festive boards of England."

He can find no evidence of Adam's having drunk anything but the ale that bears his name, but he dates the use of wine from Noah, at latest. Among the Greeks and Romans, he mentions "vinum albinum," Horace's robust red Falernian wine, and the wines of Cyprus, Lesbos and Chios. At the conclusion of a feast, a cup was quaffed to their good genius, corresponding to the English grace-cup, and the Scotch "dock un dorish."

Later came the peg- and whistle-tankards. Some of the latter were equipped with a whistle on the brim, by which the drinker could call for more when his liquor had run out, whence the saying, "if you want more, you must whistle for it." Others had a whistle in the bottom, which automatically summoned the drawer as soon as the tankard was drained.

The peg-tankard was a sort of loving cup, with the portions of the various members of the party marked off by pins on the side of the

vessel. Each had a generous draught of liquor for his share, and if a person drank short of his pin, or beyond it, he had to try again. This was the reason for Archbishop Anselm's prohibiting priests from "drinking to pegs."

At the end of the sixteenth century, glasses were made between two and three feet high. It was considered a great feat to drain the contents, generally consisting of strong ale, without removing the glass from the lips, and without spilling any.

The seriousness with which the art of brewing a good punch was treated is exemplified in these directions from a past master of it.

"The man who sees, does, or thinks of anything while he is making Punch, may as well look for the North-west Passage on Mutton Hill. A man can never make good Punch unless he is satisfied, nay, positive, that no man breathing can make better. I can and do make good Punch, because I do nothing else. . . . I retire to a solitary corner, with my ingredients ready sorted; and I mix them in the order they are here written. Sugar, twelve tolerable lumps; hot water, one pint; lemons, two, the juice and peel; old Jamaica rum, two gills; brandy, one gill; porter or stout, half a gill; arrack, a slight dash. I allow myself five minutes to make a bowl . . . ; and then, Kangaroos! how beautiful it is!"

The book ends with some cheerful lines inscribed by Lord Byron on a skull drinking cup. The dead owner says:

Where once my wit, perchance, hath shone,
In aid of others' let me shine;
And when, alas! our brains are gone,
What nobler substitute than wine?

Why not — since through life's little day
Our heads such sad effects produce?
Redeem'd from worms and wasting clay,
This chance is theirs, to be of use?

A receipt book from the 'seventies, whose pages are ornamented with names like Louisiana Sugar-house punch, blue blazer, bottled velvet, white tiger's milk, and Light Guard punch, representing the handiwork of Jerry Thomas, "the presiding deity at the Planter's House, St. Louis," brings back the genial flavor of a day that is no more. Prohibition did not succeed in leaving the United States completely dry, but it effectually killed drinking as a fine art. *Requiescat in pace!*

Butcher, Baker, or Candlestick-maker

VOCATIONAL guidance, as an effective development, has come only since the beginning of the century. But as long ago as 1795 Henry MacKenzie protested against wasting the years of youth at school "improving talents without having ever discovered them."¹

Again in 1836, the idea appears in a book entitled "The Panorama of Trades and Professions," a copy of which has come to the Society, written by Edward Hazen of Philadelphia. The book was "intended for the use of Schools and Families, as well as for miscellaneous readers." In the preface, Mr. Hazen deplores the fact that "many individuals mistake their appropriate calling, and engage in employments for which they have neither mental nor physical adaptation, . . . and hence arise, in great measure, the ill success and discontent which so frequently attend the pursuits of men."

He recommends parents to regard capacity especially, in choosing permanent employments for their children, without taking into consideration the "comparative favour in which the several employments are held; for a successful prosecution of an humble business is far more honourable than inferiority or failure in one which may be greatly esteemed."

He advocates a systematic course of instruction, which will give children at least a superficial knowledge of the various trades and professions, to be taken at home, in school, and at "places where practical exhibitions of the employments may be seen." He is in favor of a "competent literary education," as well, but considers it of secondary importance. Such a course, says Mr. Hazen, will hold the child's interest, improve him intellectually, and furnish subjects of conversation.

To this end, he compiled in his "Panorama" brief sketches of the principal occupations of his day, each of which he intended as the basis for one or more lectures for the benefit of the growing child. No one of these pretends to be an exhaustive work, according to the author, but is intended only as a general description of the character of the employment, and the prospects of those entering it, sufficient to arouse the interest of a potential merchant, farmer, shoemaker or clergyman.

¹ John M. Brewer, "The Vocational-Guidance Movement."



IRON FOUNDERS IN 1836



ONE OF THE FEW OCCUPATIONS OPEN TO GIRLS

He has given a good deal of attention to history, for "this kind of historical information will be especially beneficial to the youthful mind, by inducing a habit of investigation and antiquarian research." In the composition of his book, "all puerile expressions have been avoided, . . . for what parent of reflection would suffer his children to peruse a book calculated to induce or confirm a manner of speaking or writing, which he would not have them use after having arrived at manhood?"

"The Agriculturist" comes first, beginning with the time when Adam was expelled from the garden of Eden, and was commanded "to till the ground from which he had been taken." Agriculture was, of course, interrupted by the deluge. The art was recovered by Noah, and carried on by the descendants of Shem and Japheth, although lost by the sons of Ham. He describes the processes used in his own day in the growing and harvesting of grains, cotton, sugar and so on, mentioning the threshing machine and cotton gin. The reaping of wheat is still done with the sickle, cradle or scythe.

In describing the life of a mariner, Hazen refers to the application of steam to navigation as "one of the greatest advantages that science has bestowed upon this art." Although steamboats have not yet succeeded in competing with sailing vessels, he prophesies that improvements in the construction of steam generators will remedy that. He outlines the activities of the general merchant of pre-Civil War days, the careers of the iron founder, tanner, architect, paper-maker, printer, attorney-at-law, not to mention the butcher, the baker, and the maker of tallow, wax or spermaceti candles.

From three to eight hundred dollars a year may be earned as agent of one of the great fur companies, or an adventurously minded young man may go hunting independently, at the risk of being murdered by Indians, who consider independent trappers as intruders on their territory. Or, if he prefers a more comfortable life, the tavern-keeping business may appeal to him, a "pursuit of great public utility; since, by this means, travellers obtain necessary refreshments, and a temporary home, with very little trouble to themselves."

Tavern-keeping is one of the few occupations for which no biblical precedent can be found, but the tradition of hospitality on which it is based dates back to the Hebrews. Hazen lays this partly to the fact that Abraham entertained angels unawares.

Early Scotch taverns had to be maintained, in the face of so much private hospitality, by the imposition of a fine of forty shill-

ings on travellers who sought lodgings elsewhere. In Hazen's own time, many "temperance taverns" have been established, but have not proved popular. He mentions an unfortunate custom of applying at the bar for "something to drink" to compensate the landlord for the use of his fire and such conveniences. To obviate this unfortunate necessity, he suggests that the practice of paying for a glass of water be encouraged. This, he thinks, might be the means of "preventing many generous people from forming those dissipated habits which are so often attended with ruinous results."

The description of the clergy and its activities ends with a gloomy view of the financial prospects in that field.

"The meagre support which the ministry usually receives arises, in part, from the opinion that the profession ought to be one of benevolence exclusively, and that ministers should look for their principal reward in the consciousness of doing their duty, and the prospect of future felicity. This is a very convenient way of paying for the services of faithful servants."

How many "miscellaneous readers, school-rooms and firesides" were reached by Mr. Hazen in his attempt to encourage a study of the needs of the individual, we do not know. But the idea never bore practical fruit until the first decade of the twentieth century, when, at the initiative of Professor Frank Parsons, the Vocational Bureau was founded in Boston.

"A True Picture of Emigration"

"A TRUE picture" of frontier life in Illinois is preserved in the reminiscences of a Yorkshire woman who, with her husband and five young children, immigrated in 1831. From the time she left England to the time she returned for a visit, mistress of a large and thriving farm, she maintained her indomitable courage, and the critical aloofness of the foreigner.

Her first night in Illinois was spent in a log cabin, where the "little lady, exceedingly fond of smoking, as Americans generally are, particularly the females," expected to be paid for her hospitality, even though the family used its own provisions. The Yorkshireman, on whose recommendation they had come, appeared shortly, "verily, as ragged as a sheep," and they moved their quarters to his house, which "was more like the cell of a hermit who aims at super-excellence by enduring privations than the cottage of an industrious peasant."

They soon bought the improvements on eighty acres of land, and a house, for sixty dollars, a hundred more to be paid the Government in four years. The first winter, they lived on "sad corn meal bread," baked in a frying pan, hasty pudding, milk from a neighboring farm which came regularly in a frozen lump, and a little venison left from a purchase at the beginning of the season. They learned to make soft soap, and improvised candles from lard and a bit of rag.

In Spring, they had a good crop of sugar from their maple grove. To plant Indian corn and wheat, they had to do their plowing with hoes, for they had neither plow nor oxen. Later, while her husband was confined to his bed by an accident, she reaped, carried home and stacked three acres of wheat, in the hottest part of the year, with no help but that of a nine-year old boy.

They were induced to buy some oxen and a cow on credit, and after getting them through a hard winter, meager but alive, narrowly escaped losing them and being ruined by the avarice of their creditor, and the hardheartedness of their Yorkshire neighbor. The latter miraculously repented him at the last minute, and lent the necessary money.

In more prosperous days, an unscrupulous neighbor bought a piece of property which the English family had preëmpted, by swearing fraudulently that there was no improvement there. While "husband" went to the Quincy Land Office to see what could be done, "self" and two children occupied one side of the disputed house, while the intruders camped in the other. The day was Sunday, and the Yorkshire party and friends held meeting on the spot, much to the disgust of the opposing faction.

The matter of worship presented rather a problem. The manner in which the American Methodist service was conducted was "by no means congenial to the writer's views and sentiments.

"A sort of circle or ring was formed, the whole assembly capering about the house surprisingly. . . . All persons being again seated, an individual started from his seat, exclaiming in a loud and frantic voice, 'I feel it!' His motions, which appeared half convulsive, were observed with animated joy by the rest, till he fell apparently stiff on the floor."

By the end of the narrative, she has come to derive a good deal of satisfaction, if not much enthusiasm, from her new life, and leaves it, to visit England, not without regret.

Speculation, Transportation, and Tobacco

MR. JOSEPH P. DAY of New York has again added to the collection of the Society, this time with an interesting assortment of three English books from the eighteenth century, and a fourth relating to the canal-building fever with which American cities were taken early in the nineteenth. The first item consists of two volumes of quotations on the London Stock Exchange, in 1725 and 1737. The earlier one is published by "John Castaing, Broker, at his Office at the Stationers, next the General-Post-Office in Lombard-Street"; the second by his widowed sister and another broker, Richard Shergold.

John Houghton, apothecary, fellow of the Royal Society, and editor of a financial paper which gave a weekly history of commercial and financial speculation, had kept a weekly register of several important stocks from 1694 to 1703. Another, more extensive list was published twice a week by one John Freke, broker, from 1714. These of Castaing's were likewise published twice a week, and would be "Deliver'd at 3s. per Quarter as far as Temple-bar."

The Stock Exchange as an institution came into being with the beginning of speculation, in the reign of William and Mary. There had been commercial brokers since the fourteenth century, but stockbrokers proper did not appear until, at the end of the seventeenth, the accumulation of surplus savings had created a demand for channels of investment. These brokers and their clients had their first quarters in the Royal Exchange. The building was shared with the merchants, much to the annoyance of the latter. Indeed, they poured such a stream of complaints and abuse upon the poor stockbrokers that the latter were finally driven into Exchange Alley, the nearness of which to the financial centre, and the convenient coffee-houses it offered, made it their logical refuge. The Alley was the home of the Stock Exchange at the time of these lists.

They begin with the "course of exchange" on foreign cities, and include also the prices of certain staple commodities, like "coals" in Freke's lists, and "Colchester Crown Bays" (a fine variety of woollen cloth) in Castaing's. Lottery tickets, a very common investment at the time, are also quoted.

Government loans were common enough in the days of the Stuarts, but William III, by funding the national debt, made the

first systematic attempt to provide for repaying them. Under his régime, and those of later monarchs, government securities, some of which are listed, began to bear some resemblance to modern government bonds.

The stocks included were largely those of banks, like the Million Bank, and of the great trading companies, like the East India, South Sea and African. These latter were not joint stock corporations in the modern sense. Their only feature which improved on the earlier "ventures," when a number of individuals each subscribed what amount he pleased for a particular voyage, and received profits accordingly, was an arrangement by which members of the company who wished could subscribe a given amount of money to be used for any one of a number of voyages, at the discretion of the directors.

One of the trading companies listed is the notorious South Sea Company. In the years covered by the lists, its stock was reduced to a sound basis, and selling for a conservative 101 or 102. Five years earlier, the stock was soaring from 770 to 1000, 1100 and 1200, while "the people of the country, from the Cabinet Minister, nay from Royalty itself, to the veriest vagabond, were frantic in the distraction of the gamble; the tatterdemalion fraternity vied with ladies of rank in making a pandemonium of Change Alley; and the Bank of England itself was freely accused of involving itself in the scandal."¹

The company had been formed for the purpose of developing trade with South America. The right of importing Negroes into Spanish America, under certain regulations was granted it under the Treaty of Utrecht. Later, it proposed to absorb the national debt, by purchase or subscription. The high price offered, government favor and such rumors as that to the effect that Peru was to come under the protection of the English Government, combined to induce a fever of speculation that ended in a collapse involving peer, poet, divine and even the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself.

A list of "ye bubbles" which came to the same end as did the South Sea speculation, includes "Bleaching of Hair, Colchester Bays, Fitting Ships against Pyrates, Transmutation of Quick Silver, Insurance of Marriages from Divorce, and Air Pump for the Brain."

¹ Charles Duguid, "The Story of the Stock Exchange."

Between the years of the two Stock Exchange lists, comes a bill introduced by Walpole in 1733, for the regulation of the customs on tobacco. It proposed to enforce the storing of all tobacco in closely supervised government warehouses, from which that for domestic consumption could not be taken without the payment of a specified duty. Merchants intending to reexport tobacco were to furnish sufficient security, which would be discharged upon the presentation of a certificate from the appropriate customs officials that the goods had been unloaded there all in good order.

The act was expected to stop the smuggling which had been going on at a lively pace since the first two Stuarts, in spite of their loathing for the weed on moral grounds, found it to their interest to support the young colonies of Virginia and Maryland by fostering the trade, and at the same time to utilize an added source of revenue by making it a royal monopoly. England would have its tobacco. High duties discouraged the American planters, so tobacco began to be grown in England. In spite of the fact that it was prohibited, in order to protect Colonial trade, British farmers continued to plant, defend their crops with violence, or even insurrections, and make a handsome profit, until the end of the seventeenth century.

With this problem disposed of, that of smuggling remained. Walpole's bill bade fair to put an end to this, but was defeated the first time it was introduced on account of its provision for a small excise duty, a thing abhorred by all true Englishmen. Substantially the same act was later put through by Pitt.

The American item is a survey for the route to be followed by the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. It recalls the canal mania which swept the country before the introduction of the railroad. The Erie was the first of these great artificial waterways built with the idea of attracting western trade, and others soon followed. Baltimore's reply to New York was first couched in terms of the projected Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. The final answer, however, came in the form of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The contest between canal and railroad could have had but one ending, and the victory of the Baltimore and Ohio definitely decided the issue, giving the railroad supremacy in the field of transportation.

The Stock Exchange has grown into a major institution in the business world; England has become a free trade country, and the railroad has superseded the canal; but each of these items is a detail in one of the great phases of the building of modern business.

Secretary's Column

ACQUISITIONS

THE Secretary takes pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the following historical material:

From Hon. Eugene N. Foss, Boston, "The Eighth Wonder," a treatise on the ventilation of tunnels.

From American Trust Company, Boston, The records of the Directors of the Monument and Bunker Hill Banks dating from 1825; also the charter and signatories of the Bunker Hill National Bank.

From an officer of the Society, Three books and a print supplementing the George C. Dempsey Memorial Collection; also miscellaneous travel material and monographs.

From Dr. Victor S. Clark, Boston, "History of Manufacturers in the United States, 1860-1914."

From R. G. Fessenden, Chairman, American Trust Company, Boston, A collection of bank notes issued by various banks early in 1800.

From Joseph P. Day, New York, Two volumes British Stock Exchange listings, 1725; two volumes on Chesapeake and Ohio Canals published in 1824; Bill relating to Tobacco subsidies and imposts of British Plantations, proposed about 1750.

From Mrs. R. H. Morgan, Plymouth, Mass., Correspondence, bills, records of proceeds and other data connected with the Clipper Ship Trade in 1850.

MEMBERSHIP

The end of the summer has found many of our friends whom we expected to be enrolled still absent from their desks. We have, however, added the following names to our General Membership since the last report:

William O. Comstock, E. M., Brookline, Massachusetts.
Waldemar Kaempffert, Director, Rosenwald Industrial Museum, Chicago, Illinois.
Eugene G. Grace, President, Bethlehem Steel Corporation, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

The Affiliated Membership list has received the addition of Dr. Henrietta Larson, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Soldiers Field, Boston, Massachusetts.

